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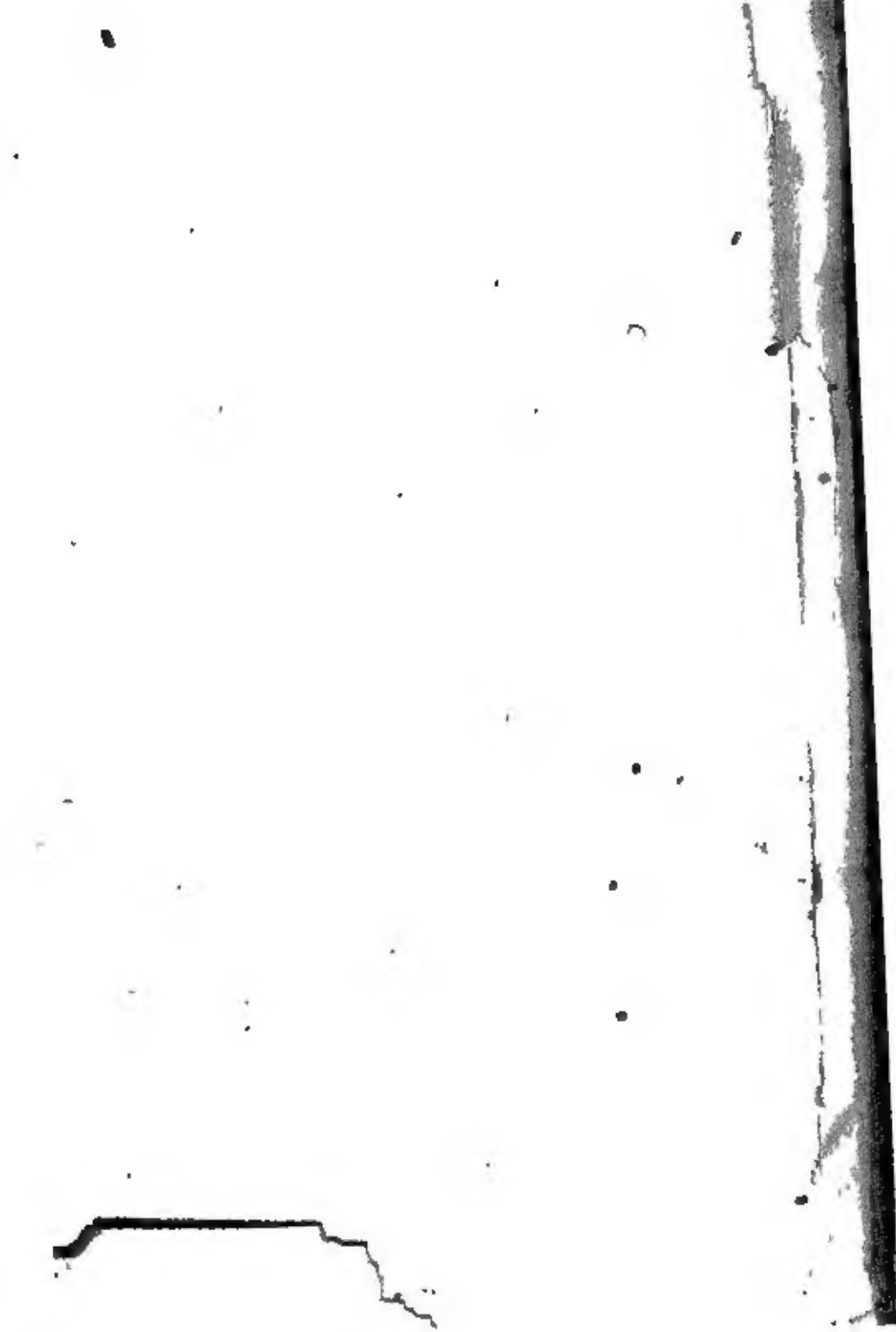
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Asiatic Society Monographs,

VOL. V.

~~A 248~~

MESOPOTAMIA AND PERSIA
UNDER THE MONGOLS,
IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY A.D.

19963

From the NUZHAT-AL-KULUB of Hamid-Allah Mustawfi.

BY

G. LE STRANGE.



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LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

22, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

1903.

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PREFACE.

THE Council of the Royal Asiatic Society having decided to republish the present paper, separately, as one of the Asiatic Monographs, a new Map has been drawn on a larger scale than the one given in the *Journal* for January, 1902 (p. 73), where the names were found to be indistinctly written. I may take this opportunity of adding a few corrections which have come to notice since the paper was first printed, in addition to those given below on page 115 (p. 766 of the *Journal*), the first of which (on the Urmiah Lake) refers to p. 38, note 1, of the present pagination.

In chapter 7, describing Rūm (p. 48, line 28, and p. 259 of the *Journal*), the Castle of Awnik will be found marked, to the east of Erzerum, on the great Map of Armenia drawn by Mr. H. F. B. Lynch. On the same page (two lines from below) *Zābarhi* should be Divngi (i.e. Tephrike, the Paulician capital); and for *Dhāhā* Davālū is the true reading, a place situated a few miles south-east of Kayseriyah; these places are frequently mentioned by Ibn Bibī, an historian recently edited by Professor Houtsma, whom I have to thank for these and other corrections that he has been good enough to send me. Kūb or Gūb (p. 49, eight lines from below, and p. 260 of the *Journal*), not *Kāt*, is the true reading, as given in Ibn Bibī, and it lay between Tūḳāt and Zilah. Zamandū (p. 50, line 10, and p. 261 of the *Journal*) is mentioned by Yāḳūt and Ibn Bibī and in the Tzamandos

of the Byzantines ; Kadūk (not *Kadāl*) is the modern Geduk to the east of Kayseriyah ; Tūz Aghāch (not *Tūr Aghāch* or *Tamar Aghāch*) is also given in Ibn Bībī, and lay near Kīr Shahr in the Salt District.

In chapter 14, describing Kirmān, the correction for the position of Sīrjān (p. 76, three lines from below, and p. 530 of the *Journal*) has already been given on p. 115 (p. 766). Shākhīn, not *Sakhia*, etc. (p. 81, line 5, and p. 535 of the *Journal*), is the true reading as given by Major Sykes. It lay south of Kāyin (*Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 406). The position of Ṭabas Masīnūn (p. 81, line 17) can now be fixed, for the place was visited by Major Sykes (*loc. cit.*, p. 397). It lies about fifty miles east of Birjand ; it is still known by the old name, but is now surnamed, from being mostly inhabited by Sunnis, Ṭabas Sunni-Khānah.

In chapter 17, on Khurāsān, it may be mentioned that the Amīr Chūpān (p. 83, line 26, and p. 734 of the *Journal*) was the celebrated Regent of Mongol Persia after the death of Uljaytū, during the minority of Sultān Abu Saʿīd. Further, a stupid mistake must be rectified, where, on p. 86, line 10 (and p. 737 of the *Journal*), Ḥakīm Burkāʿ (as the name should be read) is the well-known veiled Prophet of Khursārān, and the line following should stand thus :—"had lived, who was known as the Moon-maker (Sūzandah-Māh) of Nakhshab, in Transoxiana" (cf. *Literary History of Persia*, by E. G. Browne, p. 319).

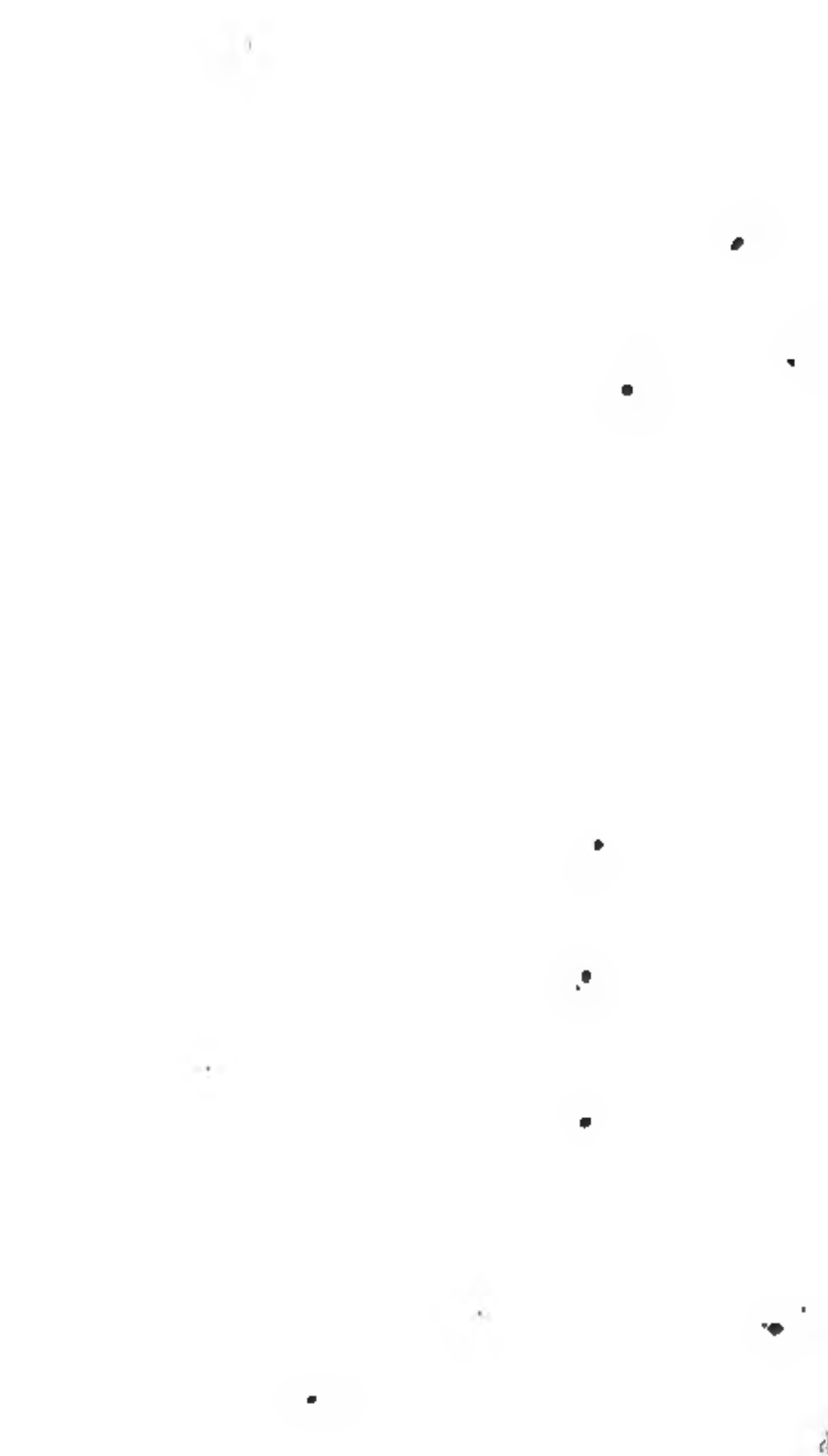
In the Itineraries a few corrections may be noticed. In Route III (p. 99, line 4 ff. ; p. 750 of the *Journal*) the stages are in wrong order. We should read :—"from Farīshah to the Nīl Canal in 7 farsakhs, passing . . . Kūthā Rabbā . . . to the left of the road ; then, with the city of Bābil lying . . . on the right hand, in 2 farsakhs to the city of Hīllah. Thence it is 7 farsakhs

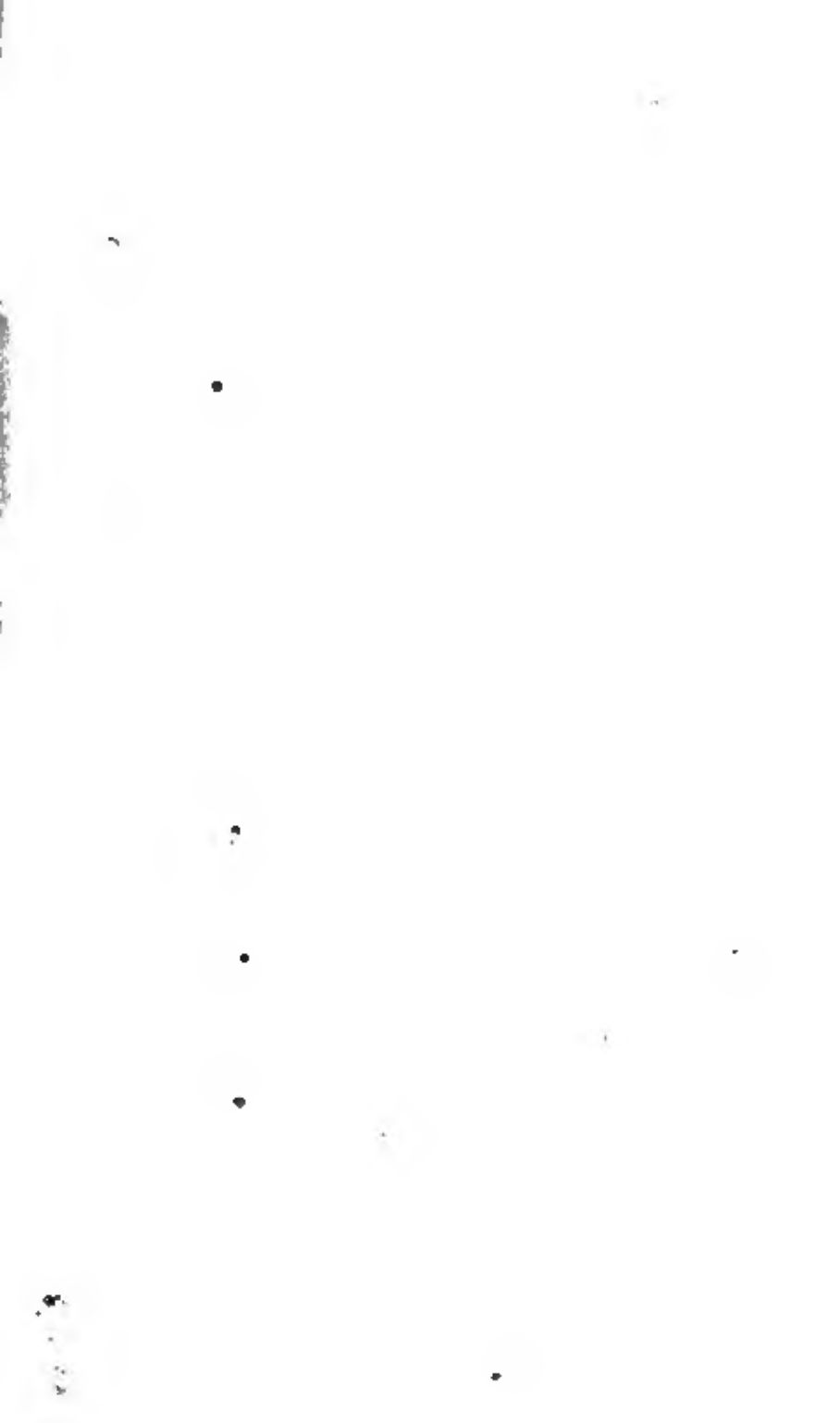
to the city of Kūfah," etc. And as regards Farūshah, this place is mentioned by Ibn Jubay (*Text*, p. 217), who passed it on his road north to Baghdād. In Route XVIII (p. 106, line 23, and p. 757 of the *Journal*) the town in Bādghīs given as Tūn should be read Bawan, otherwise called Babnah, as given by Yāqūt, i, 764. In Route XIX the latter part should be corrected from Professor De Gooje's translation of the Turkish text (p. 347) of the *Jihān Numā*, given in his work *Das alte Belt des Ocus* (p. 112). We should read: "Hazarasp 9 farsakhs to Dih Azrak (Blue village), thence 7 to Rūkhshāmīthan, thence 6 to Andarastān, thence 2 to the city of Nuzwār, and then 6 to Urganj." Finally, in Route XXVIII (p. 111, line 17 and five lines from below, and p. 762 of the *Journal*), "the city of Šaj," which lay between Shīrāz and the coast, opposite Kays Island, may very likely be identical with the town of Jamm mentioned by Ištakhri (*Text*, p. 106), who writes that of the Sīrāf District there were three chief cities, "to wit, Sīrāf, Najīram, and Jamm," but no mention of this place appears, as far as is known, in any other geographer.

In regard to the new Map, some places have had still to be marked by numbers, and the names of those must be sought, according to their Provinces, in the lists given on pages 25 and 26 (*Journal*, pp. 73, 74).

G. LE S.

November, 1903.





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PERSIA UNDER THE MONGOLS.

It is very generally a matter of complaint that the lithographed editions of Persian and Arabic works published in the East are, for the most part, unprovided with any index or full table of contents, and, further, that when the book treats of geography or history, the proper names of both persons and places are too often given in a manner that at first sight defies identification. Half a loaf, however, is proverbially better than no bread, and, until from some quarter funds are forthcoming to defray the cost of printing Persian texts in Europe, scholars would often be able to make use of the editions lithographed in India or elsewhere, if the true reading of the proper names were fixed by a collation of the best manuscripts, and if a full table of contents were available for purposes of reference. In many cases also a Persian work will only contain one part, or a series of chapters, that pre-eminently is of interest to Western scholars, and the remark, of course, applies more especially to the Cosmographies where the geographical chapters alone are of first-rate importance, as also to those numerous Universal Histories where only the concluding sections, dealing with the author's own time, can in any way be considered as of primary authority. An instance in point is, I consider, the cosmographical work of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi, which forms the subject of the present article, and of which a lithographed edition appeared in Bombay in 1894 (A.H. 1311) under the editorship of Mirzā Mahdī Shīrāzī, being published by Mirzā Muḥammad Shīrāzī, surnamed Maḥk-al-Kuttāb, or the Chief of the Scribes.

Hamd-Allāh Mustawfī and his two principal works—the history called the *Tārīkh-i-Gushtāsh*, and the *Nushat-al-Kutub*, which last is now under discussion—were fairly noticed by Mr. E. G. Browne in this Journal in a paper on “The Sources of Dawlatabān” (J. R. A. S. for January, 1891), and more recently (October, 1900), he has given us a translation of the section on the “Biographies of the Persian Kings” from the *Gushtāsh*, with a detailed account of the contents of that historical work, of which he hopes later off to publish an edition of the Persian text. As a complement and commentary to the *Gushtāsh*, the geographical part of the *Nushat-al-Kutub* is of considerable importance. Further, and from the point of view of historical geography, it is of special interest, since it gives us a detailed description of Persia in the age immediately succeeding that of the travels of Marco Polo. The first half of the fourteenth century A.D. may indeed be regarded as a turning-point in the history of Western Asia, being a period of comparative calm coming between the epoch-marking conquests of the Mongols under Chinghiz Khan and the no less revolutionary period of conquest by Timur. From a geographical point of view it was a time of transition. Before this we have the lands of Islam under the Abbasid Caliphs, as described by the Arab geographers Istakhrī, Ibn Hawkal, and Mukaddasī; after this there is Western Asia, as shown on our present maps, which last may be held to date from the changes effected by the conquests of Timur and the subsequent partition of his empire among his descendants and successors.

Nearly forty years ago Monsieur Barbier de Meynard (now director of the *École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* in Paris) gave us the translation of the greater part of the geographical section of the *Nushat-al-Kutub* in the notes to his well-known *Dictionnaire de la Perse*,¹ which is based on the geographical encyclopædia of Yākut. To the information contained in this book I must express my great indebtedness, and I may take the occasion of bearing witness to the

¹ Smal. 4to. Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1861.

admirable accuracy of Monsieur B. de Maynard's work, which, it should be remembered, had to be entirely based on manuscript material, being translated directly from the Paris MSS of the *Majma' al-Bihar*. Since 1881 the whole text of Yāqūt has been edited by Professor Wustenfeld; also, in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Professor de Goeje has now given us admirable editions of nearly all the earlier Arab geographers. It is therefore very easy to verify, by a reference to the texts, the translations given by Monsieur B. de Maynard; and it will be remembered that the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* is still the only portion of Yāqūt's great Encyclopedia of which a complete translation exists in any European language. Seeing, therefore, that we have here a translation of all the longer articles in the *Nushat* which treat of the towns described by Hamd-Allah, I shall only attempt in this paper to complete his lists of names, referring my readers to the pages of the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* for all further information in detail. My arrangement of the materials will, however, be somewhat different, for the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* being set in alphabetical order, no account is taken of the enumeration of the places as grouped by Hamd-Allah under the various provinces, and this arrangement, for the elucidation of the historical geography of the period, is, I deem, of much importance. Then, again, Monsieur B. de Maynard, as he acknowledges in his preface,¹ has made no attempt to identify the sites of places mentioned by Hamd-Allah, as, indeed, this was inevitable forty years ago, for our maps of Persia were then in many parts a blank. Since that time, however, a host of travellers and explorers have filled in the names, and at the present day most part of the great plateau of Irān has been explored. I need only mention the numerous excellent maps published by General Routan

¹ Op. cit., Préface p. xx. "Les questions relatives de topographie ancienne ne peuvent être abordées avec succès qu'après l'étude préalable des documents indigènes. J'espère qu'il me sera donné un jour de travailler à la solution de ce difficile problème. Au moins, en ce qui touche la Perse, aujourd'hui, je m'en suis débarrassé délibérément."

Schindler in the Berlin *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, and the maps given by Monsieur J. de Morgun in his *Mission Scientifique en Perse*—which last is still in course of publication—as instances of completed surveys of the individual provinces under investigation; while in the numerous papers devoted to Persia contained in recent volumes of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society I have found much to aid me in the identification of ancient with modern sites. My mainstay, however, has been the great Map of Persia, in six sheets, on the scale of sixteen miles to the inch, published by the War Office Intelligence Department in 1886.

For the true spelling of the place-names¹ I have had recourse to the systematic Itineraries given by Ibn Khurdādhbih and Kudāmah, supplemented by the detail of routes found in the works of Yaqubī, Ibn Rustāh, Istakhrī, Ibn Hawkal, and Mukaddasī, all of which date from the middle of the third to the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. (ninth and tenth centuries A.D.). These mediæval Arab Road-books have enabled me to correct, and hence profit by, the very full Itinerary which Hamd-Allah himself gives at the close of his description of Īrān. This Persian Itinerary is now published for the first time, and it has made the location of a number of mediæval towns and districts possible, all traces of which have long since disappeared from the modern map. As an instance I may mention the Median city of Saburkhwāst in Luristān, which Hamd-Allah shows to be *not* the modern Khurramūbad, as has often been supposed, then some important details are given about Sirjān, the capital of Kirman, and about Old Hurmuz, and we are now enabled to fix approximately by these Persian Itineraries the positions of many lost towns such as Tāk-kāw and Faryūb of south-eastern Khurāsān, also Kāghaz Kuman and Bajarvūn,

¹ The spelling of Persian place-names is far from being consistent. The Persian for *whisker*, now written and pronounced *sha* (vowel short), is generally in the MSS. written *sha*, with the vowel long. Other common variations are *shaban* or *shanso*, *Hārmāz* or *Hurmuz*, *Shirān* or *Tihrān*, *Kūbistān* or *Kūmistan*.

once important cities on the great northern high road from Adharbayjan towards the Caucasus frontier, besides many villages and post-stations.

On the vexed question of the lower course of the Oxus during the middle ages, and its outflow into the Caspian, Hamd-Allah has important information to give. The detailed account of the provinces into which Persia in his day was divided shows, by a comparison with the provincial frontiers as given by the Arab geographers of Abbassid times, the changes effected by the Mongol conquest, and the later administration of the Il-Khāna, who built Sultā Iyāk in Persian 'Irāk to be their capital, and to take the place of Baghdād as the Metropolis of Western Asia—Mesopotamia being henceforth counted as merely a province of Persia. The most notable change in the political map of Irān is the formation of the new province of Kardistan, which was taken from the western half of the Arab province of Jibāl (Media), the remaining, or eastern, portion of the older Jibāl province now coming to be more generally known as Persian 'Irāk. Then, again, all the Yazd district, which had formerly been counted as of Fārs, was now given to Persian 'Irāk, thus, in compensation for Kurdistan, which had been taken away, enlarging the older frontier of the Jibāl to the eastward, and so rounding off what was now the central province of Irān under the administration of the Il-Khāna. Lastly, on the Persian Gulf region, Hamd Allah divides off Shabankārah from the south-eastern part of Fārs, making of Shabānkārah a separate province, of which the ancient Darabjrd and Lair (a town unknown to the earlier geographers) were the chief centres of population.

Hamd-Allah personally was well fitted thus to describe Irān, for there is evidence that he had himself traveled over the greater part of the country. In the matter of frontiers and capital cities he was trained in office-work connected with the taxation of the provinces, being one who held by inheritance the post of Mustawfī or Accountant-general, this post having been in his family since the days of his great-grandfather, who was superintendent of the

finances of 'Irāk in Abbasid times, before the first Mongol invasion. Hamd Allah himself had served under Rashid-ad-Dīn (the author of the *Tārīkh-i Rashidi*, published in part by E. Quatremère), the celebrated minister of Ghāzān Khan, and the present description of Persia and Mesopotamia, though completed in 740 (1340 A.D.), may be taken to represent the country as it existed under the government of that Il-Khān and his successors Uljayiū and Abū-Sa'īd (brother and nephew of Ghāzān) in whose service Hamd-Allah held the office of Mustawfi.

At the head of most of the chapters describing each province of the Ilkhanid empire in Persia and Mesopotamia Hamd-Allah has given the sum of the provincial revenue paid in his own time. These figures may be best summarized in a note,¹ and they are of interest as showing the financial condition of Persia under the Il-Khāns. It must, however, be observed that Mustawfi very frequently also gives, under the separate articles, the state-revenues derived from the towns; hence the sums given in our footnote probably should not be held to represent the sum-total of the provincial taxes, for, while it is nowhere clearly stated whether or not these individual sums formed part of the aggregate, the revenues of all the chief towns are not given. From the point of view of Numismatics an interest lies in the statement repeated many times by Mustawfi (L. 133d, 170j, etc.) that in his day the currency-dinār (*Dinār-i Ray*), which was used in all accounts, a gold coin that possibly was only nominal (or but seldom coined), was reckoned to be worth six (silver) dirhams of the Abbāsids;

¹ Reckoned in currency-dinārs (four of these being about equivalent to the pound sterling), and in the year 36 of the Ilkhanī Era (A.D. 1335) Arabian 'Irāk paid 3,000,000 dinārs, Rām Awa Minor, 3,300,000, Armenia, 300,000, Upper Mesopotamia, 1½ million dinārs, Kuzmān, 201,600, Khūzistān, 320,000, Fars, 2,871,200, Shabānkārah 260,100, and Kirman, 676,600 dinārs. The list of provinces, it will be observed, is not complete. Mustawfi further, in many cases, records the revenues of former periods, notably for Sa'at times during the later conquest of the Abbāsids in Persia, but these seem hardly worth tabulating, for the sums mentioned are not likely to be very reliable.

hence, as already said in our footnote, four of these currency-dinars were about equal in value to one pound sterling.

The present paper, it will be seen, only attempts the summary of Part II in the Third Book of the *Nushat*, and of this all that is now here given is the corrected list of the names of places, with the reference to the pages of the lithographed edition, and to the authority responsible for the true reading of the name. An attempt also has been made in every case to identify the site, or the fact is stated when the position is unknown.

The text as found in the Bombay Lithograph has been edited with almost incredible carelessness. The place-names heading each article are written indifferently with or without diacritical points, hence very often these names are perfectly illegible. Towns of a somewhat similar name in the written character, but quite well known, and, in point of fact, occupying different provinces—such, for example, as *Ardabil* in Adharbayjān and *Irbl* in Upper Mesopotamia—are as a rule here systematically confounded one with the other, and a place like Tawwaj, the celebrated commercial emporium of Fārs in the earlier middle ages, appears in the Bombay text as Nūh, that is to say, Noh. Similarly absurd mistakes recur again and again, as, for instance, where our author, speaking of the rivers of Persia (which for the most part do not find their exit to the sea), describes each in turn as “flowing out or becoming lost in the Desert (*Mafārah*),” for which the Bombay edition invariably has the statement that the river becomes “lost in a cave (*Mughdrah*,” the excuse for which nonsense being that in the Arabic character there is a similarity between *Mughdrah* and *Mafārah* by a change of diacritical points.

For obtaining a correct text, I have collated (more or less completely) eight of the best MSS. found in the British Museum, also the six MSS. of the Bodleian at Oxford, and two MSS. belonging to the University Library at Cambridge. For Chapter 12, describing the province of Fārs, I have been able to get the true readings for a number of place-names, not given by Istakhri or the other Arab geographers,

In conclusion of these preliminary notes, I may remark that for the true reading of the place-names I have relied far more on the authority of Yakt, supplemented by the older Arab geographers (the texts, namely, in the eight volumes of the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* of Do Goeje) and our present maps, than on the readings in the diverse MSS. of the *Nushat*, which last are often incredibly incorrect, from the carelessness of the scribes. Where the modern map and the Arab geographers together fail us (e.g. in some sections of the Itineraries), the spelling of the place-names becomes quite uncertain, and the diverse readings often equal in number that of the manuscripts consulted, each scribe having added discri-tional points and letters according to fancy. The Persians are, indeed, far behind the Arab scribes in matter of accuracy in copying their texts, and, curiously enough, where a criterion has existed for settling the true reading, I have often found that the older MSS. of the *Nushat* were quite as incorrectly written as the more modern copies of the work.

I have been unable to include in the following pages the names of all the villages given by Mustawfi in his lists; indeed, as a general rule, those names only are inserted which either occur in the works of the Arab geographers, or are found still to exist on our modern maps, or, finally, are inserted in the Itinerary. An exhaustive collating of all the MSS. would be required for fixing the readings of the outstanding names in Mustawfi's lists of sub-districts and villages; and even then accuracy would probably be unattainable, until the topography of Persia becomes more accurately and completely known. In the following pages, however, all the separate articles, whether of towns or districts, given by Mustawfi have been inserted, and the attempt is in every case made to identify the places mentioned, or, when the present maps and the Arab geographers alike are at fault, and no clear indication of the site is attainable, some indication is given of the region in which the place or its ruins should be sought for.

Before proceeding to a detailed examination of that section

of the *Nuzhat* which especially deals with the Īlkānād kingdom of Īrān (Persia with Mesopotamia), it will be convenient to give first the general Table of Contents of the book, premising that the *Nuzhat-at-Ḳulūb* is a cosmographical work, of which a part only treats of geography, and that it is divided into five sections, namely, an *Introduction*, *Three Books*, and a *Conclusion*, these sections being in many cases further subdivided into Chapters and various Appendixes or sub-sections.*

INTRODUCTION (called *Fatḥah* or *Mukaddamah*) treating of the Spheres, the Heavenly Bodies, and the Elements, followed by a description of the inhabited Quarters of the Earth, with an explanation of Latitude and Longitude, and the division into Climates, L. 8A.

FIRST BOOK (*Makālah-i Aswāf*): describing the Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal Kingdoms, L. *msl* 21z.

SECOND BOOK: Man, his nature, faculties, and qualities, L. 49x.

THIRD BOOK, divided into four Parts (*Ḳism*).

PART I Mecca, Medina, and the Mosque of Jerusalem, L. 116o.

PART II The Lands of Irān, divided into twenty Chapters (*Bab*)¹ and five Appendixes (*Mukhlāṣ* or *Faṣl*).

Ch. 1, 'Irāk 'Arah, 132p.* *Ch.* 2, 'Irāk 'Ajām, 141w.*
Ch. 3, al-Jahāzjān 153m.* *Ch.* 4, Mughān and Arrān,
 159m.* *Ch.* 5, Sulṭvān, 160x.* *Ch.* 6, Gurjāstān,

* The references (for distinction, where any ambiguity may occur, more especially marked L.) are to the autographed edition, already indicated, of the *Nuzhat*. This contains in all 372 pages of text, which, for some unexplained reason, are not numbered consecutively. The pagination runs from pp. 1 to 48, this being followed by an inset of pp. 1 to 112, after which comes p. 49, thence running on continuously to the close of the work, which is numbered p. 380. Each page contains twenty-five lines of text, which for convenience I refer to under the letters of the alphabet: thus 32c and 133a indicate the last line and the first line of the text on these two pages respectively.

¹ The Persian text of the chapters marked * has been printed by G. Schofer in his *Supplément au Dictionnaire*, Paris, 1897 pp. 111-230. Of those marked † the text is given by B. Dorn in vol. iv of his *Muhammedanische Quellen*, St. Petersburg, 1858, pp. 81-87.

16, A. C. 7, Rīm, 161g C. 8, Armenia, 164e
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 Khūzistān, 168m C. 12 Fārs, 170g C. 13,
 Shāhānkārah, 181g C. 14, Kirmān, 181a C. 15,
 The Desert, 182w C. 16, Mīrās and Kūhstān, 184e
 C. 17, Khūzistān, 185e C. 18, Nāzandarān, 190f
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 Mārv-ar-Rūd, 196m Route xii, Mārv-ar-Rūd to Balah
 and the Oxus, 197a Route xiii, Bustām to Farāvah,
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 Nīshāpūr to Herat, 197e Route xvi, Nīshāpūr to
 Tābriz, 197x Route xvii, Herat to Zaranj, 198 only
 Route xviii, Herat to Mārv-ar-Rūd and on to Great
 Mārv, 198a Route xix, Great Mārv to Urganj, 198e
 Route xx, Sūfāzīyah to Bajarvān, 198m Route xxi,
 Bajarvān to Mahrūdān, 198s Route xxii, Bajarvān
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 Route xxiv, Sūfāzīyah to Tābriz, 199d Route xxv,
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 xxviii, Shirās to Kays Island, and thence by sea to
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Rasmand, 205k, Rakbid, 204w, Kah-Zar and Zardab-kūh, 204q; Sablān, 204w, Sarāband, 203v Mahand, 204A, Sakh-kūh, 205k, Mīma, 205v, Stakāk, 205m, Kīr 205p, Tarūq, 200r; Tabarak 200f, Kāzin 203w, Kabala, 200d, Kafs, 206w Kargas, 206v, Kirmān mountains, 206k, Gistan 205A Gulshān, 206f, Gurashl and Zlood 206w, Kāshān, 206v Kilyah, 206q, Māstākā 206v, Mīran, 206f, Nakh, 200v, Salt mountain of Avāh, 206w, Hujam 207a Harā, 207b

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Appendix IV, Rivers — Sayhūn and Jayhūn (the Sarus and Pyramus of Asia Minor, 211q, Frāt Euphrates, 211w, Dī (the Nile) 207p, Dī the Volga, 207v, Atrak, 212s Aras, 212k, Dīk 213v, Dī, 217f Partāl 213y Jaxnun (Oxus) 213v, Jurjān, 213w, Dījab Tgris), 213x, Dījayl Karūn, 214v Dīfāl river, 214A, Upper and Lower Zab, 214y Margakū, 214w, Zānah-rūd, 214v Zakān, 214v, Bafīd-rūd 215v Nakhūn or Shāsh (Jaxartes), 215A, Shāsh-rūd, 215w, 'As (Orontes), 215q, Kātay river, 215v, Yarn-rūd, 215f Kāwah (or Kārah), 215w, Karkhah, 215w, Kur of Georgia, 216y, Kur of Fārs, 216w, Gang Ganges, 216f, Mūrān Indus, 216A; Nahravān 216f, Harīrūd, 216p, Hermand (Helmand) 216v, Jīyī-rūd, 216v, Garm-rūd or Kūh-rūd, 216v Kām river, 216v Gāhmāk, 217w Zājan river 217v, Alīar river, 217g Kāvin rivers, 217g and s, Tārum river, 217A, Kāshān river, 217w, Muzakān, 217w Kartān, 217v, Kharrakān rivers, 217v and v, Anlūh 217w, Anar river, 217g, Awjān river 218v, Jaghlū, 218v, Sāb, 218v, Bād-rūd, 218v; Sanjd and Amūd, 218f Sāfi 218g, Sāfi 218A, Garm-rūd 218A, Mīrān-rūd, 218v, Marand river, 218f, Mīvān-j river, 218w, Taghlū, 218p, Hasht-rūd, 218q, Pulvār, 218v, Tab, 218v, Māmū, 218w, Sīrīn, 218v, Stākān, 218w, Jarrāh river, 218w, Dorkhuvayd, 218y, Khwāndān, 218v, Ratā, 219v, Jarāh-k, 219A, Ikhabān 219d, Sam-rūd 219d, Div-rūd, 219v, Nakhāvar river, 219f, Bādrāb, 219g, Balikh, 219y, Khābūr,

¹ Here and in many other instances, the form of the name given is Ab-i-Said (and likewise Water, or River) of the White-river, the word for river being repeated twice.

219f, Hirmân, 219m, Tharthâr, 219e, Sur, 219p; Shû'âb, 219q, Diz dîl, 219r, Sabr 219s, Khârû, 219d, Têshkân, 219n, Pîstîfârûn, 219v, Khujant 219x, Farnûsh, 219z, Duhar 219y, Bâkân, 219a, Châm-fârûl, 220a, 'Atâ'ând river 220b, Vâkhalab, 220d, Jaghân, 220e, Havât river, 220g, Dukûk river, 220j, Barûk-ar-Rûz river, 220f.

Appendix F, Seas and Lakes — The seven Seas, 220a, Sea of China, 220m, the Indian Sea, 221f, the Persian Gulf, 222f, the Red Sea, 223e, the Sea of the Franks, 227r, the Western Sea, 224e, the Sea of Rûm 224m, the Sea of Darkness, 224y, the Eastern Sea, 225d, the Caspian, 225d, Lake Bektûân, 225y, Lake of Dâst Arzin, 226a, the Jerrah Lake, 226b, Mahalôrah Lake, 226e, Lake of Darkhuvayd, 226d, the Lakes of Mûshnysh and of Murghâr Isfahan, 226e, Urmîyah Lake, 226f, Arjish Lake (Van), 226, Gukchah Lake, 227d Chashmah Sabz, 226f, the Zarah Lake, 226p, the Kîwârism Lake (Aral Sea), 226q, the Lake of Tannûs (Egypt), 226m.

PART III. The Border Lands of Irân. that at times have been subject thereof.

This part gives a number of short articles on the following countries and towns — Alexander and the Wall again at Gog and Magog, 227d, Buh-al-Abwâb, 227b, Samarkand, 22nd, Siyâvush-gird, 228w, Farghanah, 228x, Alexandria, 229d, Damascus, 230d, Rûhbah, 230e, Cairo and Egypt, 231e, Southern Regions, 232j, Northern Regions, beyond Bâb-al-Abwâb with the Gog and Magog Wall, 232p.

PART IV. Foreign Lands that never have been subject to Irân.

This part briefly notices the following cities and lands with others — Bâkaghûn, 233q, Thibet, 233r, China, 233s, Kuntay 234e, Khoten, 234f, Khwârizm, 234g, the Desert of K polâk 234t, Lands of Gog and Magog, 234q, Bulghâr, 234s, various Indian cities, 234t, Saghîn-rân 234w, Karâkorum, 235r, Kandahâr, 235f, Kâbul, 235d, Kashmir, 235j, Mûchin (China), 235m, Transoxiana, 235r, Makrân, 235w, India, 235s, Delhi, 236d, Yaman, 236f, Aden, 236k, Oman, 236m, Yamârah, 236n, Haqramawt, 236t, Little Armenia, 236s, Hîrîkirah, 236y, Andalus, 237d, the Arabian Desert, 238e, Hîlx, 238m, Syria, 238q,

Tarḡna, the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, 239s, Tangier, 239A; the Lands of the Franks, Constantinople, 239r; Palestine, 239s, Kayrawān, 240A Kulāhm, 240I; Mīṣr (Egypt), 240m, Maḡrib and Western Lands, 240r, Greece, 243s.

CONCLUSION (*Ḥāṭimat*) Description of Marvels in various parts of Irān —In KLURĀN, KĀMIS, MĀKUNDĀN, and KĪNĀN, 243n in 'Irāk 'Ajam, KURĪSTĀN, LĀRISTĀN, and GIĀN, 243s, in FĀRS, KIRMĀN, and BĒHLĀNĀBH, 246s, in 'Irāk 'Arab and KHĒZISTĀN, 246r, in RŪM, GURJĀN, ACHURBĀYJĀN, M. GHĀN, ARĀN, and SHIRVĀN, 247; marvels in diverse other quarters of the habitable world, 248k. *Fiṣṣ* of the *Nuḡbat-al Aḡāb*, setting forth the author's apology 254d, followed by a list of the chief Arabic and Persian historians, with the names of their works, 257s-259s. Co-ophon, 260.

Reverting now to Part II of the Third Book, *On the Lands of Irān*—the subject of the present paper—the detailed contents of the twenty chapters into which this is divided are succinctly discussed in the following pages. And here, for the sake of convenience, I have added to each chapter, when treating of the various provinces and towns, those articles which go to form Appendices II, IV, and V, in which Mustawfī describes the *Mountains, Rivers, and Lakes* of Persia and Mesopotamia, giving of course also a reference to the *Nuḡbat* where the text of the Appendix will be found. Appendix I, of the *Itineraries*, will be treated in detail at the close of Chapter 20; but in regard to Appendix III, on *Minerals*, being totally unacquainted with mineralogy, and since this section treats only of the places where diverse minerals and metals are to be found, I have thought it wiser to omit this part altogether from my paper.

The list of names is a long one, and perhaps a few remarks on the nomenclature will not be out of place before proceeding to the description of the various provinces.

In glancing over the place-names which Mustawfī records it is clear that the Arab element, found in the earlier geographers, had in the fourteenth century a n. given place

almost entirely to Persian forms. The Arabs very usually added the article *al* to place-names which in their language had a meaning, e.g., Al-Anbār 'the Granary,' Al-Hadīsh 'the New Town,' and Al-Mawāil 'the Junction' (Mosul), but in addition it will be found that they frequently wrote their article before purely Persian place-names, e.g. As-Sīrjān and Al-Iṣṭabḥān, where there was no very obvious reason for so doing. It is impossible to say why Rhages should always have been written with the article *Ar-Ray*, while *Jay*, the old name for Iṣṭabān, should have as invariably been written without it. In Mustawfī's lists, however, the Arabic article has everywhere disappeared, and we have Ray, Mawāil, etc.; while names such as Ar-Ran and Ar-Ras (*spell* Al-Rān, Al-Ras in the Arabic writing), which in the older geographers had thus the false appearance of Arab names, in the pages of Mustawfī appear in plain Persian as Arrān and Aras.

Glancing over the map it will thus be found that nearly everywhere the older nomenclature has disappeared. Naysabūr is become Nīshāpūr (in modern Persian the diphthongs *ay* and *aw* are as a rule replaced by long *i* and *ū*), Kirmīn is replaced by Kirmānshāhān, Nashavā by Nakhchivān; and Arabic names are given in their Persian equivalent, Kaṣr-ar-kih 'Wind Palace' becoming Dīh Bād, Karīyat-al-Asad 'Lion Village' and Kaṣr-al-Jawz 'Nut Palace' reappearing as Dīh Shīr and Dīh Jawz, the meanings standing unchanged. More especially in the province of Fars it will be found that Kal'ah, signifying a castle in Arabic, is still very generally retained, at times, however, it is replaced by the Persian equivalent Diz, e.g. Kalah Isfandiyar, otherwise called Diz-i-Safid 'White Castle,' and in one case the Arabic Kal'ah or Kal'at reappears under the purely Persian form of Kilāt, which as a place-name became common in later times throughout Western Asia. In short, Persia proper in the time of Mustawfī had already got quit of Arabic place-names; one of the few mentioned by him (and the name is still retained) being Baydā (Arabic *al-Bayda*, 'the White Town') in the

Marvdasht plain to the north of Shirāz. Of purely Arabic names Wūlāyah, 'the Middle place,' a post-stage between Kāshān and Isfahān, is another example, but the reading of the MSS. is not sure, and in another instance Haddādah, 'the Frontier or Barrier,' a stage on the great eastern road between Damghān and Bustām the Arab name is given with its Persian alias of Mihman-dūst, and this last is the one still in use. One other instance of an Arabic name in Persia, as given by Mustawfi, occurs in Ras-al-Kalb, 'the Dog's Head,' a stage between Ray and Samnān. No trace of this name exists at the present time, and apparently its place is occupied by Jazīrd, the name of the curious fortress-town (wanting in the lists of the medieval geographers) which crowns a bluff overlooking the desert plain (see illustration in H. W. Bellow, *From the Indus to the Tigris*, p. 404).

Chapter I. 'Irāk 'Arab.

Contents. Kūfah, L. 133a; Mashhad 'Alī, 134g, Mashhad Husayn, 134a, Baghdād, 135a, Anbār, 136w; Bābul, 136e, Barāzar-Rūz, 137f, Basrah, 137f; 'Abbādān, 137w; Bandantjīn and Lūhī, 137e; Bayāt, 138a, Takrīt, 138d, Tall 'Aḳarḳūf, 138f, Hūdithah, 138g, Harbā, 138A, Hīlah, 138j, Hawwān, 138p; Hīrah, 138e, Kālūq, 138e, Khānīkīn, 138w, Duḳayl, 138a; Daḳūk, 139a, Dūr 'Āḳūl, 139b, Kūmīyah, 139c; Rādihān and Bayn Nahrāyn, 139d, Zangīlād, 139e; Sāmarrāh, 139f; Sadrayn, 139r, Tārīk, or the Road of, Khurāsān and Baḳūbā, 139e; Shahrabān, 139w, 'Ānah, 139e; 'Askarah, 139a, Kāṣr Shīrīn, 139a, Kādīsiyah, 140e, Xūrān, 140e, Mohawwā, 140f, Madāin, 140y, Nahr Isā, 141g, Nahr-Malik, 141k; Nahrwān, 141m; Nu'māniyah, 141o, Nīl, 141p; Hit and Jubbah, 141p, Wāst, 141l.

The dividing-line between the two provinces of Irāk and Jazarah (Lower and Upper Mesopotamia) has varied at different epochs. In Abbānd times it is generally given as running up from Anbār on the Euphrates to Takrīt on

the Tigris,¹ both towns being as a rule included in the lower provinces. In the time of Hamd-Allah, however, 'Irāk included as well many towns lying on the Euphrates to the north of Anbār, up to or beyond 'Anah, and the frontier line at that period went from a short distance below Karkisiyā, where the river Klābūr joins the Euphrates, across Mesopotamia to a point on the Tigris immediately below the junction of the Lesser Zāb. Hamd-Allah in Appendix IV describes both the Euphrates and the Tigris at some length (L. 211a and 213a), but adds nothing to what has been already given in the notes to my translation of Ibn Serapion. The Tigris in his time still flowed down by the Shatt-el-Hay past Wānṭ into the Great Swamps, which in their western portion swallowed up the waters also of the Euphrates below Kufah, in short, the state of the country described by Ibn Serapion at the close of the ninth century A.D. still existed in 1340, and for that matter continued unaltered until after the time of Hafiz Abū in 1420, the change to the present state of the Euphrates and Tigris having taken place in the century before 1652 A.D., when Tavernier visited the country.²

Among the cities of 'Irāk, Hamd-Allah being an ardent Shī'ah gives precedence to Kūfah (I S. 53), near the burial-place of the Imāms, which he calls the Dār-al-Mulk, 'the Abode of Power,' though Baghdād is, he admits, 'the Mother of Cities' and the metropolis. His description of the celebrated shrines near Kūfah is given in the following

¹ See *Map of Mesopotamia as described by Ibn Serapion*. In order to save needless repetition the letters I S. vi. mark a reference to the volume of *Ibn Jauzī* for 1893 where, in the notes to my paper on Ibn Serapion, details of many of the towns here mentioned will be found.

² See *Baghdād during the Caliphate*, p. 8, note 1. Since writing this I have found in *Peregrin's Pilgrimage* (vol. II, 1626, vol. v. p. 341.) that in 1681 John Newberry apparently travelled down from Baghdād to Basrah by the present, eastern, course of the Tigris. The change, therefore, from the Wānṭ channel to that at present followed must have already taken place, in all probability, before the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. Nothing certain is to be learnt from the *Narratives of Caesar Frederic* in 1663 (*Peregrin*, v. p. 1702), John Eldred in 1683 (*Hakluyt Travels*, 2nd edn., i. p. 404), or the anonymous Portuguese traveller, *circa* 1645, whose MS. is in the possession of Major M. Hume, (see *Athenaeum* for 26th March, 1901, p. 373).

paragraph, which is a slightly condensed translation of the Persian text:—

"Two leagues to the northward of Kūfah is Mashhad 'Alī, where the Caliph is buried; for, on receiving his death wound in the Kūfah Mosque, 'Alī had ordered that his body should be put on a camel, which was then to be turned loose, and wherever the camel knelt there his body was to be buried. All this was therefore done, but during the time of the Omayyads no tomb was erected at Mashhad 'Alī, for the place was kept hidden for security. In the year 175 (791 A.D.) the holy site was discovered by the Abbassid Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, for when hunting one day near Kūfah he had chased his quarry into a thicket, but on attempting to follow it he found that no force could prevail on his horse to enter the place. Then awe fell on Hārūn, and on enquiring of the peasants they told him this was indeed the burial-place of 'Alī, as such being an inviolate sanctuary. Orders were given to dig, and the body of 'Alī was found, to guard which a shrine (or Mashhad, was then built, which became a place of visitation. At a later date in the year 366 (977 A.D.) 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid erected the Mausoleum which still exists, and the place became a little town 2,500 paces in circuit. Glazau Khān the Īl-Khān in recent times erected here the house for Sayyids called the Dār-as-Sayyidah, also a Kanakuh or Darvish monastery. To the north-west of Kūfah, eight farsakhs away in the desert, is Karbala, the place of martyrdom of Husayn. The building now seen here was erected by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah aforesaid, and a small town has grown up round the shrine also, being some 2,400 paces in circuit. Outside Mashhad Husayn are seen the tombs of those who fell fighting at his side in the battle that resulted in his martyrdom."

The early history of these two celebrated shrines is obscure, the foregoing is the usual Shī'ah account, but though it is true that Hārūn-ar-Rashīd at one period of his reign favoured the Alids, the Arab chronicles do not

relate that he 'invented' the Tomb of 'Ali. The earliest notice in detail of Mashhad 'Ali appears to be of the middle of the fourth century A.H. (tenth A.D.), written by Ibn Hawkal. He says (p. 161) that the Hamdānid prince Abu-l-Hayjā, who was governor of Mosul in 212 (A.D. 904) and died in 317 (A.D. 929), had built a dome on four columns over the tomb at Mashhad 'Ali, which shrine he ornamented with rich carpets and hangings; further, he surrounded the town there with a wall. Elsewhere Ibn Hawkal, however, adds that in his day the burial-place of 'Ali was also shown in the corner of the great Mosque at Kūfah, and this attribution was credited by many persons. In the pages of the Chronicle of Ibn-al-Athīr (ix, 13, 42, 169, 394, x, 103) it is recorded that the Buyid prince 'Adud-ad-Dawlah was buried at Mashhad 'Ali, also his sons Sharaf and Bahā ad-Dawlah, and diverse other notable persons are under various dates stated to have been buried here.

In the year 443 (1051 A.D.) the shrine was burnt to the ground by the Baghidād populace, who, being orthodox, had taken to persecuting the Shī'ahs, it must, however, have been rebuilt shortly afterwards, for Malik Shūh and his Vazir, the Nizām-al-Mulk, made their visitation to the tomb in 479 (1086 A.D.). Yakūt, who mentions Mashhad 'Ali in his articles on Kūfah and Najaf, unfortunately gives us no details of the shrine.

In regard to Karbalā and the shrine of Husayn, it is nowhere stated by whom it was first built, but in the year 238 (850 A.D.) the Caliph Mutaawakkil earned the lasting hatred of all good Shī'ahs by ordering the buildings here to be destroyed by flooding the place with water; also he forbade the visitation of the sacred spot under heavy penalties. How long the tomb of Husayn remained in ruin is not stated, but 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid in 368 (979 A.D.) built a magnificent shrine here, and this is noticed by the contemporary geographers Istakhri (p. 85) and Ibn Hawkal (p. 166). In 407 (1016 A.D.) the dome at Mashhad Husayn was burnt down, but doubtless was restored before the place was visited by Malik Shī'ah in 479 (1080 A.D.).

when he went hunting in these districts. Yākūt unfortunately gives us no description of Mashhad Husayn to supplement the above, which is derived from Ibn al-Athīr (*Chronicle*, vii, 36, viii, 518, ix, 209 x, 103).

The description of Baghdād, that follows the description of Kūfah in the *Nashat*, has already been summarised in a recent number of the Journal (J.R.A.S. for 1899, p. 885), and most of the other towns are mentioned in the notes to my translation of Ibn Serapion and need only a reference here. A plan of the ruins of Anbār is given by Mr J. P. Peters in his recent work on *Nippur* (i, 177); he visited the site, and this lies at some distance from Sīfayra (see also I.S. 52). Bābil is at the ruins of ancient Babylon (I.S. 209). According to Ibn Khurdādhbih (p. 6), Barāz-ar-Rūs and Bandanijīn were the chief towns of two neighbouring Sub-districts (*Tustūj*) of the great District (*Asṭā*) of Shādh Kubadh, which was the third *Asṭān* of the twelve Districts into which 'Irāk was divided in the times of the Abbāsids. From the mention of neighbouring places it is almost certain that Barāz-ar-Rūs is identical with the modern Bād Ruz, lying about twenty-five miles east of Ba'kūbū, and Hamd-Allah (L. 220f) also speaks of its river, which rising in the Kurdistān mountains flowed out into the plain and became lost before reaching the Tigris bank. Bandanijīn, generally called Bandanigān in the Lihf District, has left no trace on the map. It was an important town when Yākūt (i, 745; iv, 353) wrote, lying near the foot-hills (or Lihf) of the Khūzistān frontier, and its ruins should be sought for some fifty miles to the eastward, bearing south, of Bād Ruz.

Baṣrah and 'Abbaṣan have been noticed before (I.S. 302, 304). The little town of Bayūt still exists, and Hamd-Allah (L. 220g) refers to its river, which rising in the Kurdistān mountains became lost in the plain below the town after watering many districts. Bayūt, a name which does not occur in the Arab geographers, is identical with, or rather lies close to, the ruins of Tīb, a town mentioned by Yākūt (iii, 866) as of some importance during Abbāsid days, the site of which has been visited and described by Sir H. Layard

(*Early Adventures*, ii, 223) Takrit was the frontier town on the Tigris between Lower and Upper Mesopotamia (I.S. 36). The great mound of Tall 'Aḳarkūf still exists; its village was, according to Yāqūt (i, 867), of the 'Isā Canal District, and probably stood at no great distance from the town of Muḥawwal, of which apparently all traces have vanished. Hadithah, 'the New Town' of the Euphrates, lying some thirty five miles below 'Ānuh, is called Hadithah-an-Nūrah by Yāqūt (ii, 223) to distinguish it from the other Hadithah on the Tigris, at the junction of the Upper Zab. Harbā still exists on the Duḡayl Canal (I.S. 39), and Hiliyah is on the Euphrates (I.S. 208). The ruins of Halwan exist at the site called Sar-i pul, and have been recently visited by M. de Morgan. The remains of Hirah lie near Kūfah (I.S. 53), and the Klah is a canal of East Baghdad (I.S. 225). Khānīn, D. kūk, Zangībād, and Kaḡr al Irīn all figure on the map and need no comment. The first and last are in the Itinerary (Route iii), and Ḥamd-Allāh describes (L. 220) the Daḡūk river as flowing from the Kurdistān mountains by the Darbād-i-Khūṭīfah, past Dākūk, and out into the plain, where its waters were usually lost in the sand, though in the spring freshets they flow down to join the Tigris.

The Duḡayl Canal is of West Baghdad (I.S. 70), and Dayr-al-'Ākūl is on the Tigris, as too Rūmīyah, opposite Mudān (I.S. 40, 41). Rāḡhān and Bayn-an-Nahrayn—'Between two Canals'—were two neighbouring regions of the Nahrawān. Both names have now disappeared from the map, but, according to Ibn Khurdādhbih (p. 6), there were, in Abbasid times, two Sub-districts called the Tasaūj of Upper and of Lower Rāḡhān which formed part of the Shād Murmur As'ud or District, and this last was on the left bank of the Tigris in the neighbourhood of Mudān. It is to be remarked that the name of Bayn-an-Nahrayn does not apparently occur in any other author. The Khurāsān Road is the name for the district to the eastward of Baghdad. Sūmarrah and Ba'kūwā exist, and are noticed by Ibn Ḥarapion (I.S. 36, 208). The region of Ṣadrayn

was watered by the Euphrates, but I have failed to discover its position, though the name occurs in the *Jihān Nāmā* (p. 466), and all the MSS agree in this spelling. As given in the Itinerary (Route iii), and lying to the north-east of Baghdād, Shahrabān still exists; and 'Ānah is on the Euphrates (I S. 52). Neither in the *Jihān Nāmā* nor elsewhere, apparently, is any account found of the towns named 'Askarnā (or 'Askariyāh)¹ and Kūrān, which are not either of them marked on our maps. Kāndīyāh may be either the town of that name on the Tigris (I S. 37), or the place on the desert border near Kūfah, where the great battle was fought when the Arab armies first invaded Mesopotamia.

As already said, Muhawwal was the town on the great canal called the Nahr 'Īsā (I S. 71) to the west of Baghdād, and the ruins of Madain are still to be seen on the Tigris below Baghdād (I S. 40). The canal called the Nahr Mālik is the one below the Nahr 'Īsā flowing from the Euphrates to the Tigris (I S. 74), and Nu'mānīyāh (I S. 43) stands on the Tigris a little above where the Nīl Canal—on which is the town called Nīl—flows in (I S. 261). The city of Nahrawān is the place now called Sīfah (I S. 269) on the Nahrawān, the great loop canal of the left bank of the Tigris which, starting from Dūr below Tukrīt, rejoined the Tigris again below Madharīyā after a course of about 200 miles (I S. 267). In its entirety this canal no longer exists, but its course can be traced, and from what Hamd-Allah reports it had gone out of use even in his day, for he gives the name of Nahrawān to what is now known as the Diyālā river. In Appendix IV (L. 216f) he writes that the Nahrawān river had two head streams, both of which rose in the mountains of Kurdistān. One of them was called the Sūrīwān river from the district of that name on its upper course, and lower down reaching the Taymarrah District it took this latter name. Below this the Nahrawān, or Taymarrah, was joined by the other branch, which rose

¹ This place may be 'Askar-al-Murāsīm, or the Camp Quarter, at Sāmarrā, where the And shirvan stood see Yakut, *ib.*, 57a; Musatarik, 209; Kharā'id, ii, 5.

in the mountains above Hulwān, at a spring in the Pass of Tak-i-Kizā of the Gil wa Gilān District; thence flowing down past the cities of Hulwān, Kaṣr-i-Shīrīn, and Khānikīn to its junction with the other stream. Below the junction, and above Ba'kūbā, the united waters formed the Nahrwān, which finally flowed out into the Tigris a short distance below Baghdād.

The town of Hīt lies on the Euphrates (I.S. 52), and Jubbah, if this be the right reading of the text, is a small place on an island in the Euphrates fifteen leagues above Hīt. Lastly, Wāsīt on the older course of the Tigris (now the Shatt-al-Hay) was a place of importance as late as the time of Timur (*Zafar Nāmah*, i, 657, and elsewhere), though at the present day its ruins have almost completely disappeared (I.S. 44).

REFERENCES TO MAP OF PERSIA.

The names of the stages on the post-roads will be found
in Appendix I on the Itineraries.

IRĀṢ 'ARAB.—1, Firūzān; 2, Fārifān; 3, Varāmīn; 4, Tīhrān and Shrine of Shāh 'Abd-al-'Azīz; 5, Fārsajū; 6, Sūmughān; 7, Sagnāūd; 8, Ashar; 9, Āvāh; 10, Sāvah; 11, Sunqurābād; 12, Sujās and Suhrevard; 13, Satūrīk; 14, Sarjshān; 15, Šāin Kal'ah; 16, Kāghadh Kunān or Khāonj; 17, Muzdakān; 18, Sāmān; 19, Ardīstān; 20, Daljān; 21, Gulpaygān; 22, Zāvārah; 23, Dih Sārūk; 24, Naṭanz; 25, Idhaj or Māl Amīr; 26, 'Arūj or Sūsan; 27, Lurdagān; 28, Sābūrkhvāst; 29, Khurramābād; 30, Burūjird; 31, Šaymarab; 32, Asadābād; 33, Ābak of Kharrahān; 34, Darguzīn; 35, Rūdarūd Tuvi, and Sarkān; 36, Maybud; 37, Nayīn.

ADRIANOPOLIS.—1, Awjān; 2, Tarūj or Tasūj; 3, Khalkhāl; 4, Shāl and Kulūr; 5, Alar; 6, Kbor; 7, Samās; 8, Urmīyah; 9, Ushnūyah; 10, Sarār; 11, Miyānīj; 12, Pasavā; 13, Dih Khwārkhān; 14, Laylān; 15, Morand; 16, Zangīyān and Bridge of Khudā Afārīn; 17, Karkar and Bridge of Dīyā-a-Mulk; 18, Nakhchivān; 19, Urdūbād.

MUGHĀN and ARĀN.—1, Barzand; 2, Pīrvār; 3, Maḥmūdābād; 4, Burdā'ah.

KURDISTĀN.—1, Abshar; 2, Bahār; 3, Sulṭānābād Jamjamāl; 4, Shahrāzūr; 5, Kirīnd and Kūshān; 6, Harsīn; 7, Vastām or Bisūtān.

KHŪZISTĀN.—1, Junday Shāpūr; 2, Hawīzah; 3, Rāmburmuz; 4, Sūs; 5, 'Askar Mukram; 6, Masrahān town.

FĀRS.—1, Tawwaz; 2, Khabr; 3, Khunayfghān; 4, Šimkān; 5, Kavār; 6, Kārzīn, Kīr, and Abzar; 7, Kārīyān; 8, Lāghīr; 9, Kūlān; 10, Mīmūd; 11, Isakhr; 12, Abarkūh; 13, Iklūd; 14, Surmak; 15, Baydā; 16, Kharrahmah; 17, Māyīn; 18, Baud-a-Amīr; 19, Harāt; 20, Kuṭruh; 21, Kamin; 22, Kalār and

Kārad, 23, Yazdikhwāst; 24, Dih Girdū; 25, Abādah; 26, Jahram; 27 Juvaym of Abu Ahmad; 28, Shāpūr; 29, Nawbanjān, 30, Tīr Mardān; 31, Jirmā; 32, Gunbad Mullaghān; 33, Khusht; 34, Kamārij; 35, Juvaym and Khulār, 36, Rishahr; 37, Hūstānak, 38, Mahrubān, 39, Siniz; 40, Jannābū.

SHABĀNKĀRAH.—1, Darkān or Zarkān, 2, Ištakhbānūn, 3, Nirtz; 4, Khayrah, 5, Tārum; 6, Karm and Rūbānz.

KUKISTĀN.—1, Bajetān, 2, Junābūd; 3, Dasht-i-Bayād and Fāris; 4, Burjund; 5, Khush, 6, Isfād, 7, Istind, 8, Shārakhs; 9, Tabas Kinnā, 10, Tabas Masinūn; 11, Darah Castle.

KHONĀSĀN.—1, Isfariyūn, 2, Bayhaq or Sabzivār; 3, Biyār; 4, Khudūshak of Juvayr; 5, Muhammad-i-Imām R. qā, 6, Fūshanj; 7, Kusūy; 8, Khargird, 9, Mā.ūn of Bākharz, 10, Gunābūd of Bādghiz, 11, Jām, and Rūzjūn or Pōcakān; 12, Khwāf; 13, Sa.ām; 14, Sa.ūjūn; 15, Zūzan, 16, Abivard; 17, Khavārūn.

KŌMIS.—1, Khuvār or Mahallah Bāgh, 2, Samnā, 3, Āhūvān; 4, Girdkūh; 5, Firūzkūh.

GILĀN.—1, Tūhm, 2, Shaft, 3, Pāman; 4, Kawtam; 5, Lāhjan.

Chapter 2. 'Irāk 'Ajam.

Contents: Isfahān, 142f and its eight districts, viz., Jay, Mārbin, Karān, Kāhāb, Burkhuwār, Khānlānjān, Barān, and Rūdsht, with their villages, 143e, Firūzān, 143e, Bay, 143y, Tūvān, 144r; Varāmīn, 144e, Sa. jāniyān, 144e, *Kazvīn, 145k; Abhar, 146f; the Districts of Daylam and Tā.ash, 147a; Āvāh, 147e; the Rūdbār District, with Castles of Atamūt and Maymūn Diz, 147f; Zuvjān, 147e; Sūvāh, 148e; Sānj Bolāx, 8. jās, and Suhruvār, 148g, Satūrik, 148e, the two Tārum Districts, 149d, Sarjahān and Rahād or Sāyīm Kāl ah, 149e, the Tālikān District, 149f, Kāghadh Kunān or Khūnej, 149p; Muzdākān and Sāmān, 149e; Tabarik, Marjāmuūn, and Andajan Districts, 149y, Pūshād Jarrak, 150e, Kam, 150f, Kūshān and Fīn, 150f; Arishtān and the Tafresh District, 150e, Jurhādakān or Gulpaygān, 150e, Dalījān, 150y Zavārah, 151a, Furāhān and Dih Sūrūk, 151b; Karaj, 151e, Naṭanz, 151y; Nisāūr, 151k, Mārāvadīn, 151f;

Yashūk, 151m, Great Lur District, 151c, Idhaj, 151g, Arab or Saa, 151r, Lur akān, 151s, Little Lur District, 151t, Burūjird, 151u, Khurramābād and Samak, 151w; Saymarah, 151x, Hamadan, 151y, and its five districts, viz., Farivar, Azmādin, Shahrān, Aasān, and Bardrud, with their villages, 151g, Amulakūd, 152c, the districts of Māya'lū and Tamsār, 152p, the District of Karrukūn, with the (northern) Āvāh, 152q; Darguzin, 152s, Kū. āwar, Tawī, and Sarkān, 152u, Šār ān, 152y, Šāhd Bahar and Fāšn, 152s; Nihāvand, 153a, Yazd, 153d, Maybud and Nāyin, 153f.

What had of old been the province of Media the Arabs named *Al-Jibāl*—'the Mountains'—a perfectly appropriate name, as will be seen by a glance at the map, for the great mountain region separating the plains of Mesopotamia from the highlands of Persia. In the time of the Sā jūk princes, by some misnomer, this, their capital province, came to be called 'Irūk 'Ajāmī, or *Persian* 'Irūk, a name that was totally unknown to the earlier Arab geographers. Hence in after days *Al-'Irūkayn*, 'The Two 'Irūks,' were taken to mean Media and Lower Mesopotamia, which last for distinction was thenceforth called *Arabian* 'Irūk—'Irūk 'Arabī. Originally, it is to be observed, *Al-'Irūkayn* had been a term applied to the two great cities of (Arabian) 'Irūk, namely, Kūfah and Basrah, but the Saljūks had affected the title of Sultān of the Two 'Irūks, which in consequence, as explained above, came to be applied to the two provinces, but as Abū-l-Faḡ (p. 468) writes "among the vulgar," and wrongfully (see also Yāqūt, ii, 15, and Lane, *Dictionary*, s.v. 'Irūk). The name, however, has continued in use down to the present time.

Further, it is to be remarked that after the Mongol settlement Persian 'Irūk was greater in extent to the eastward than the older Arab province of Jibāl, by the addition thereto of Yazd and its district, which formerly had been counted as of Fārs; on the other hand, it had been diminished in size by the creation of the new province of Kurdistān, which had been taken from its western part, and Kurdistān now divided Persian from Arabian 'Irūk. Under the Ilkhāns Persian

'Irāk became the capital province of their empire, for it included the four great cities of Isfahān, Ray, Hamadān, and Sultānīyah, the new metropolis recently founded by Uljaytū

The eight districts of Isfahan mentioned by Hamd-Allah all exist at the present day (as do many of the villages which he also enumerates, and which are described by General Schindler in *Eastern Persia* 'Irak, pp. 120, 122). The city, he says, originally consisted of four wards (still existing in name), viz., Karrān, Kūshk, Jūbārāh, and Dardasht, the walls round these having been built by Rukn-ad-Dawlah the Buyid. In the Julbārāh quarter (now pronounced Gulbārāh, and lying to the north-east of modern Isfahan, round the Maydan-i Kūnah or Old Square) was the Madrasah (College) and tomb of Sultān Muḥammad the Sa'jūk, and here might be seen a block of stone weighing 10,000 *man* (equivalent, perhaps, to a little less than 32 tons weight), this being a great idol carried off by the Sultan from India, and set up before the College-gate (L. 142a). History, however, does not record that this Sultān Muḥammad (a son of Muḥik-Shāh, who reigned from 498 to 511 A.H.) made any conquests in India, nor does Hamd-Allah himself allude to the fact in the *Gusdah* when treating of his reign.

Isfahān lay on the northern or left bank of the river Zandah-rūd, which is described as rising in the mountains of Zardāh Kūh, the 'Yellow Mountains,' still so called from their yellow limestone cliffs (L. 204g). Of this region also were the Ashkahrān mountains, lying on the frontiers of Greater Lur (L. 202a). After passing the cities of Firūzān [1]¹ and Isfahān, the Zandah-rūd flowed through the district of Rūdasht, of which the chief town was Fārfān [2], and there became lost in the great swamp of Gavkhānī. The river was also known as the Zūyindah or Zarin-rūd, and, according to popular belief, after sinking into the Gavkhānī swamp, it flowed for sixty leagues underground to Kirmān,

¹ The numbers in square brackets refer to the Map.

when it rose again to the surface and thence attained the sea (L. 214r). Besides Isfahān town, the Isfahān district included the two great cities of Fārisān and Fīrūzān. The former still exists as a village (Schindler, *op. cit.*, p. 126) not far from the Gāvklāni swamp. Fīrūzān city has apparently disappeared from the map, but according to our author it stood on the river bank in the Khālanjān District, and paid revenue to the amount of 164,000 dinars (about £42,125). Ibn Baṭūṭa (n, 52), who visited the town, says it was six farasakhs distant from Isfahān.

The city of Ray (Rbages) was ruined during the Mongol invasion. Mastawfi says that in the time of Ghazan Khān the houses were in part rebuilt, but Varīmīn [3] had already supplanted it and become the chief town of the province. The Shrine of the Imām-Zādh 'Abd al-'Azīm¹ was to be seen near Ray, as mentioned in the Itinerary (Route ix), and the castle which was called Tabarik lay at the foot of the hill of Kūh Ṭabarik to the north, where there are said to have been silver-mines (L. 205f). Of this castle, however, apparently no trace exists, though the Shrine of Shāh 'Abd-al-'Azīm is still a famous place of visitation. Mention is made of the river Kardan-rūd, which waters the Ray District; thence flowing out to the desert; and some other lesser streams are also named as coming down from the Kharraḳān District; also the Jūij-rūd from Damavand and the river Garm rūd or Kūh rūd of Sāy-Bulāk (L. 216v, z, and 217r, v, z, but cf. *Jihān Nūmā*, p. 304). The great mountain of Damavand rose to the north of Ray, visible from a distance 100 leagues away, and of its many marvels

¹ Otherwise called Husayn a son of the eighth Imām, 'Alī-ar-Riḍā. Ṭabarik is also the name of the Castle of Isfahān which, according to 'Alī of Yazd (*Zafar Nāmah*, ., 481), was occupied by Timur, and of which the ruins still exist. The foundation of Khān Ṭabarik of Ray is ascribed by Zahir-ad-Dīn (Dorn, *Muhammadanische Quellen*, i p. 16 of the Persian text) to Manūchahr the Ziyārid, at the beginning of the fifth century (the eleventh a.d.), and he states that Ṭabarik means a 'brock,' being the diminutive form of Ṭabar, signifying a 'hill or mountain,' in the Ṭabaristān dialect. According to Yaqūt (i. 507) Ṭabarik of Ray was destroyed in 588 (1192 a.d.) by Tughriq II the last Baljūk Sultan of Irak, and Yaqūt gives a long account of the siege of the famous castle.

Hamd-Allah gives a full account (L. 203a). Tīhrān, the present capital of Persia [4], was already in the time of Hamd-Allah a fair-sized town, though formerly, he says, a mere village. Both Ray and Vārāmīn are now only marked by ruin-heaps lying some distance to the south of Tīhrān.

Sultāniyāh, founded by Arghūn Khān, was completed by Uljaytū, who made it the capital of Īrān, and he was buried here in a magnificent sepulchre, the ruins of which still exist. Hamd-Allah has much to say about Kāzvin, his native town, with its dependent villages, among which were Dahand, Fūrajīn [5], Samghān [6], and Saghābād [7], lying on the road eastward as named in Routes ix and xxvi. He also describes its many streams, namely, the Khar-rūd, the Buh-rūd, the Tark an-rūd, the Kāzvin river, and the Āb-i-Kharakān (L. 217, q. r, s, t, v, and *Jihān Nāma*, p. 305). These streams had their sources for the most part in the Barchīn Kūh and the Rākaid (or Rāhand) mountain (L. 203a and 204a). Abhar [8], on the river of the same name (L. 217g), had a famous castle called Haydariyāh, after Haydar its builder, one of the Saljūq princes; and to the north of Abhar on the Gīlān frontier lay the Daylam and Tālish districts, among which were the towns of Ashkūr, Khawkān, and Khasjān (but the reading of these three last names is very uncertain, and they are not given by other writers, nor are they to be found on the map). The city of Āvāh [9], between Sūvāh [10] and Kum, stood on its river, the Gāvmātā-rūd, which flows down from near Hamadān in the west to the great dam between Sūvāh and Āvāh, where it forms a lake (L. 217a).

The Rūlbār district, in which stood the ruins of the famous castles of the Assassins, lay along the course of the river Shah-rūd, the lowest of the many affluents of the Safid-rūd, and the District was at some distance to the north of Kāzvin (L. 215a). The city of Zanjan lay on the Zanjān river, also called the Mūj-rūd (L. 217e), which was another affluent of the Safid-rūd, and the town of Zanjan is said by Mustawfi to have been named Shakhā by its first

founder, King Ardashir Bābagān. The city of Sāvah [10], chiefly remarkable for its lake, which history reported had miraculously dried up at the birth of the prophet Muḥammad, lay on the Muzdakān river (L. 217a), and a number of villages are named by Mustawfī in the Sāvah District, of which, however, the readings are uncertain, and they are not to be found on the map. Sūj-Balūk, the name of the district round Sankaribūd [11], meaning 'the cold spring,' is given in some MSS. (e.g., British Museum, Add 23,543, and Cambridge, Add 2,024), but this paragraph is omitted in the lithographed text. Under the Mongols it was considered as of the Nūvah Province, though it had originally been counted as of Ray, its villages were Kuarūv and Najmūbād.

Sujūs and Suhravard [12] were before the Mongol invasion important towns according to Istakhri (pp 196, 200) and Yākūt (ii, 40, 203); they are now apparently not marked on any modern map, though Sir H. Rawlinson, writing in 1840 (Journ. Roy. Geographical Society, x, 66), speaks of Sujūs as a small village then existing, with Suhravard close to it. According to Ḥamd-Allah, Sujūs was five leagues distant to the south of Sulṭāniyah (L. 145b), and the surrounding districts were called Jarud and Anjarūd, apparently identical with Ijarūd and Angurān of the present maps. In the hills near Sujūs was the grave of Arghūn Khān, of which a long account is given in the *Nushat*. The town of Satūrīk [13] lay at the western end of the Anjarūd district, and was celebrated for its palace, rebuilt by Abakāh Khān, and the lake which was reported to be bottomless. This is the well known Takht-i-Sulaymān, described by Sir H. Rawlinson (J.R.G.S., x, 65), who would identify this place as the site of the northern Ecbatana. The castle of Sarjahān [14] has disappeared from the map, but it lay five leagues to the east of Sulṭāniyah on the Tārūm mountain, and Yākūt (ii, 70), who had visited it, reports that it was one of the strongest castles of the district, and from its towers the city of Zanjūn was plainly visible.

Şam Kal'ah [15], which still exists,¹ this being the Mongol name for the Kabūd village, lay south of the Tarum district, otherwise called the Tarumayn, 'the two Tārums,' Upper and Lower, of which the capital formerly had been Firūzābād. Of Upper Tārum the chief town was Andar, with many dependent villages; in Lower Tārum the most important place was the Castle of Šamirān or Šamirān, of which Yakut (iii, 148, gives a long account. The streams of the Tārum districts all flowed into the river Safid-rūd (L. 217t), and the name of this district (Tarum) is still marked on the map. The Tālikān district, which in the time of Hamd-Allah lay to the south-east of Tārum, apparently no longer exists, and the towns of Jarūd, Kūhbānah, and Karaj, which our author mentions, are no longer to be found. Kāghadh Kunān, 'the Paper Factory,' or Kunān [16], was an important place, the position of which is fixed by the Itinerary (Route xx) as south of the river Safid-rūd and fourteen leagues north of Zanjān, in the district known as the Mughu lyah. Muxdakān [17], which gave its name to the Sīvah river, as already mentioned, still exists, also Šāmān [18] at the place where the river rises. The three villages of Tabarik, Mar, amban, and Andjān lay among the hills to the north of Abhar [8], but have apparently now disappeared, and the Pushkil Darrah district was that lying to the east of Kasvin and south of Tū kān.

The holy city of Kum was watered by the Gulpaygān river (L. 216s), and between Kum and Āvāh was the salt mountain called Kūh Namak-Lawn, a solitary hill, the summit of which was said to be unattainable (L. 206r). The neighbouring city of Kūshān (which the older geographers always spelt Kasān, with the dotted k) had its water from the Kubrūd hills, the stream flowing to the desert (L. 217m). Ardistan [19], to the south-east of Kūshān, and the Tafriah districts, to the westward of Kum, still exist, and Daljān [20] lies about half-way between Kūshān and Gulpaygān [21].

¹ Meaning 'the Castle of Šam,' possibly called after Şam, otherwise Bādā Khān, grandson of Chaghāta Khān.

which latter town of old was called Jarbādakān. The hamlet of Zawārah [22] lies on the desert border near Ardīstān.

Coming to the western side of Persian Trāk, the Farāhān District—of which the chief town was Dīb Sārūk [23], visited recently by Mrs. Bishop (*Kurdistan*, i, 146)—is the region lying eastward of Hamadūn. The chief town here at the present time is Sulṭānābād, founded in the reign of Fath-'Alī Shāh at the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Hamd Allah there was a lake here, which the Mongols called Jughar Nazūd (but the reading is uncertain), which is doubtless the present Lake of Tūzā to the north of Sulṭānābād. Dawlatābād was of the Farāhān villages, and this is still an important place lying to the east of Nīlavand. The city of Karaj, called Karaj of Abū Dulaf, has entirely disappeared from the map. Its position is given in the Itinerary (Route vi), and from the fact that the town lay to the south of the Rasmand mountains, which are those now known under the name of Rāsband, it is easy to locate the site. The streams from these hills watered the celebrated pastures called Marghẓār Kitū (or Kīlū) lying round the town, and its castle was named Farzīn (L 2044). Returning once more to the eastern side of the province, near the desert border was Naṭāns [24], with the castles called Nīsmūr and Wasṭāk, with the District of Marīwādīn, but the reading of these three last names is very uncertain, and with the exception of Wasṭāk, which is mentioned in the *Gusīdāk* (see R. G. Browne, J R A S., 1901, p. 25, n. 4), being also copied into the *Jihān Nāmā* (p. 299.), these names do not occur elsewhere.

In the south-western corner of the province of Persian Trāk was Luristān, divided between the Greater and the Lesser Lur districts. Īdaj, otherwise known as Mā-Amīr [25], was the capital of Great Lur, the district which lay entirely to the south of the great bend of the Karun (between its left bank and the plain-country), and Great Lur for the most part had been counted as of Khūzestān by the Arab geographers. Īdaj was famous for its bridge, and its

whirlpool, and the city has been described by Ibn Batūṭah (i, 29), who visited this region. The town of 'Arūj, or 'Aroḥ, otherwise called Sūsan, or Sus [26], also lay on the Karun river, some four leagues to the north-west of Māl-Atōir, and this place must not be confounded with the other Sus in Klūzistan to the south of Dizfūl. Its ruins have been described by Sir H. Rawlinson, and were visited by Sir H. Layard (see the J.R.G.S. for 1840, ix, 83; also 1842, xi, 103). Lurdagan, or Lorkin [27], is found on the map near the affluent joining the Kārūn at its extreme western point. The district of Lesser Lur was the highland to the north of the great bend of the Kārūn; and in his *Guznāh* Ḥamd-Allah gives the following account of this district, which is worth quoting:

"In the province of Lesser Lur are three rivers, namely, the Ab-i Silākhūr flowing down to Dizfūl, the Khurramābād river which goes towards Ḥawīzah, and the Kazkī (?) river which also flows down by Dizfūl towards Ḥawīzah. And there are three towns that are still flourishing places, namely, Burūjird, Khurramābād, and Sāburkhawst. This last was of old an immense city, extremely populous, being inhabited by people from all nations, for it was the residence of kings. It is now, however, merely a provincial town. Finally, in Lesser Lur are three ruined cities named Kirmāt (?), Būrsāt (?), and Šaymarah."

The importance of this passage lies in the proof here given that Sāburkhawst is *not* identical with Khurramābād, as has been often supposed, since both towns existed in the time of Mustawfī; and the fact is confirmed by his statement in the Itinerary (Rau'ō va) that, bifurcating at Burūjird from the Karāj high road, "the road to Sāburkhawst here goes off to the right hand" (L. 195r). The ruins of Sāburkhawst [28] have not yet been identified, but they must

¹ The paragraph is given at the end of Section xi of Chapter IV, immediately before the Section devoted to the Mongols. It is wanting in many MSS., but occurs in the old MS. of which I made a copy in Paris in 1860, and a copy is found in the British Museum MSS. numbered Add. 7,630, A. 11. 22,003, from Egerton, 649.

be sought for some few leagues to the south of Khurramābād [29]. The town of Barūjird [30] is frequently mentioned by Istakhri (pp. 258, 262) and Yāqūt (i, 596); the Arab geographers, however, appear not to have known of Khurramābād in Lesser Lur, and Hamid-Allah is probably the earliest authority to mention this important town. He says that dates grew well both here and at Sayanarah [31], the old capital of the Mihrapūrkadhuk District; according to Ibn Rustāh (p. 269) and Yāqūt (iii, 44), already in the fourteenth century A.D., a ru. a. Sayanarah is marked on the map at some distance from the western bank of the Karkhuk river, but I was unable to identify Samsā (or Samlā) and Diz-i-Siyāh, 'the Black Castle,' which stood near it according to our author. Somewhere in Lesser Lur also was the mountain called Hawayn (or Harin) Kūh, where there were celebrated iron-mines (L. 207b). In regard to the three rivers of Lesser Lur mentioned in the *Gushtāsh*, these are referred to again in the *Nushat* (L. 216a, c). Sī'ākūr is the name of the plain in which Barūjird stands, and its river is the chief source of the Āb-i-Diz, further the Karkī is apparently the affluent now known as the Āb-i-Barnai. The Khurramābād river drains to the Karkhuk, which Hamid Allah describes as passing through the Hawizah country, and this latter river now joins the Kārun below Ahwūz, as will be noticed in the chapter on Khuzistan. The Karkhuk and its affluents came down from the Alvand mountain, (L. 202p), lying southward of Hamadan, its peaks were almost always covered with snow, and forty-two streams take their rise in this region, which, says Mustawfi, measures thirty leagues in circumference.

Hamadān city, when Hamid-Allah wrote, was for the most part in ruin, it included five townships, Kal'ah Kabrī—'Sulphur Castle'—Kal'ah Makin, Girdlakh, the Kishlāk or 'Winter Quarters' of Shujā'-ad-Dīn Khūreshid, and Kūrasht. The surrounding province comprised five other Districts with many villages, namely, Farīvār (or Karīwar), Āsmādīn (or Azyārdīn), Sharū'īn (or Sharūmīn), A'tam, with Sardrūd and Barbandrūd (or Buthanarūd). None of

these names appear on the present map (those given in parentheses are from the Turkish text of the *Jihān Nāma*, p. 300), but Farivār was watered by the upper affluent of the Gāvmahā or Gāvmāsā river (already mentioned), which rose in the hills of Asadabād [32] to the north-west of the city (L. 217a).

The places called Mū'alū and Tamsār appear to be unknown, but the two districts of Kharrakān (marked Karaghan on our maps) are those lying to the south-west of Kāsyān, towards which and out eastward to Ray the Kharrakān streams took their course (L. 217c, as already described). The chief town in the Kharrakān District is Ābsh [33] or Āvsh (not to be confounded with Āvsh near Savah, already mentioned), and there were besides forty other villages. The Dargukān District lies between Kharrakān and Hamadān, Dargukān [34] being also the name of the chief town of the district, and this formerly had been included in Ālam, one of the five Districts, as already mentioned, of Hamadān, which, says Hamd-Allah by the Persians was called Alamar. Rūdarūd or Rūdrāvar [35] was a large town, the ruins of which still exist at Rūdlāvar (*Mission Scientifique*, De Morgan, n. 136, near Tuyl and Sarkān. These ruins probably also represent the older town of Karmj of Hamadān, which, according to Yāqūt (ii, 832; iv, 261), was the capital of this Rūdarūd district, and lay seven leagues distant both from Hamadān and from Nihāvand. Here were the five Districts named from the rivers Hind-rūd, Sarkān-rūd, Karzān-rūd, Lami-rūd, and Barānabān respectively.

Sāimān of Kharrakān, at the headwaters of the Muzdakān river, has already been mentioned. Shabdabāhar and Fumad, the readings are uncertain, are districts no longer shown on our maps, but which probably lay near the city of Nihāvand; and this last, Mustawfī writes, comprised three Districts, named Malār, Isfīdān, and Jahūk, which, however, are likewise not to be found on modern maps. Coming finally to the south-eastern corner of the province of Persian 'Irāk, Hamd-Allah notes the cities of Yazd, Maybud [36], and Nayn [37], which, as he rightly remarks, were formerly

counted as belonging to Ištukhr (Persepolis), and hence were of the province of Fāra.

Chapter 3. Adharbayjān.

Contents. Tābriz, 157*p*, and its seven districts, viz., Mīhrān-rūd, Sard-rūd, Bāvīl-rūd, Arūnak, Rūlk b, Khāum-rūd, and Bādūmān, 156*s*; Arjān, 156*s*; Tashj or Tarj, 156*s*; Ardabil, 156*s*; Khakbul and Firūzābād 156*k*; Dūrmāraz, 156*s*. The 8 āurād district, 156*t*, the Pishkūn district, 156*se*, Ullār and Arjāk 157*s*, Āmur, 157*d*, Takallufah and Jiyār, 157*f*, Darāvaz, 157*k*; Kal'ah Kabrān, 157*j*, Kuantar, 157*k*, Kīlān-Fājlān, 157*se*, Murān Na'im, 157*m*, Naw Dīz 157*e*, Muft, 157*s*, Kluev or Khoi, 157*t*, Salmān, 157*s*, Urmīyah, 158*b*; Ushnuyāh, 158*g*, Sarūv, 158*k*, Mīyārj and the Garin-rūd, 158*s*; Marāghah, 158*g*; Pasavā, 158*s*, Dīh Khwārjān, 158*s*, Lavān, 159*b*, Marand, 159*s*; Dīmār, 159*k*, Zanjīyān, 159*t*, Rīwaz, 159*m*, Karkar, 159*m*, Nakhchivān, 159*e*; Akhoān and Urdābad, 159*r*.

Hamd-Allah notes that the capital of Adharbayjan under the earlier Mongols had been Marāghah, but this pre-eminence had in his day been transferred to Tabriz.¹ A very full account is next given of Tabriz, beginning with its early history, and how it had recently been rebuilt and enlarged by Ghāzān Eshān. Details follow of the new walls, with the ten city gates, also of the outer suburb and wall, with its six gates. Tabriz, according to Hamd-Allah, was the largest city in Persia; it was watered by the river Mīhrān-rūd, which rises in the Sahand mountain lying to the south, and round the city lay the seven districts (given above) called for the most part after the various streams which irrigate their lands (the reading of these

¹ The Arab geographers generally give Ardabil as the capital city, and this became also the capita. of Persia under the earlier Safavi kings, until Shah 'Abbās removed his court to Isfahan.

names, however, is in many cases very uncertain). The Mīhrīn-rūd, which ran through the suburbs of Tabriz, and the Sard-rūd to the south west, which also came down from Mount Sahand, both joined the Sarāv-rūd at a short distance to the north of the city; and this latter river, which rose in the great mountain district called Sabūr-kūh to the north-east of Tabriz, flowed out into the Urmīyah Lake, some forty miles away to the westward of the city. The mountains of Sahand and Sabūr, as also these various streams, are all carefully described by Hūnd-Allah in Appendices II and IV (L. 204*re*, 205*h*, 217*e*, 218*e*, *f*).

The Urmīyah Lake appears to have been known to Hūnd-Allah under the name of the Lake of Khawjaat,¹ but the origin of the name is nowhere explained. He also frequently refers to it as the Salt Lake (Daryu-i Shūr), or as the Lake of Tārūj or Tasīj, from the name of the town near its northern shore; and he writes that in an island of the lake the Mongol Princes had their burial-places under a great hill (L. 226*f*). The town of Awjān, or Ujān [1], which Ghūzān Khān had rebuilt, lies to the east of Tabriz, and its river which rises in Mount Sahand, joins the Sarāv-rūd (L. 218*e*). Tārūj [2] or Tasīj,² which sometimes gave its name to the Urmīyah Lake, lay close to its northern shore, and to the west of Tabriz.

Ardabil lay at the foot of Mount Sablān, on the river Andarūb, also called the Ardatil river, this, after passing the Bridge of 'Alī-Shah, became an affluent of the Ahar

¹ The MSS. vary greatly as to the spelling of the name, *Jawjat*, *Jawjak*, *Khawjat*, and *Khawjat* appear with other variants. The medieval Arab geographers know of the lake also under various names: thus *Al-Bīrūtī* (s. 98) and *Ibn Hawqal* (p. 247) call it the Lake of Kūhūdūn, *Ibn Khuzaimah* (p. 181) writes of the Bahayrah-nah Sharīf, and in *Al-Bīrūtī* (p. 380) it is called merely the Lake of Urmīyah. *Abu 'l-Fida* (p. 42) knows it as the Lake of Tārūj and according to *Hafiz Ahrū* (MSS. folio 27*a*) the island in the middle of the lake (now the Shāhī peninsula which only becomes an island at flood-water: see R. T. Günther, *Geographical Journal* for 1897, p. 316) was crowned by the castle known as Kal'at Tārūj, said to have been built by Hūlāgū Khān. He had stored his treasures here, and after his death his tomb was made in this castle, which Deckerforth was called Qūt Kat'ah, or 'Tomb-castle'.

² Both spellings are given in the MSS. and occur on the present map. In the map on the paper referred to in the previous note, Mr. Goudon gives the name as Tureh.

river, which last flowed into the Aras (L. 217^{re}). Above Ardabil, on the slopes of Mount Sablān, stood the Castles of Diz Bahmān and Diz Rūvān (or Rūbān) with some others (L. 204^{re}). Khalkāl is still the name of the District at the foot of Mount Sablān, in the time of Mustawfī it was also the name of its chief town [3], but this has apparently disappeared. The town, according to Yāqūt (i, 198) and the Itinerary, was two days' march from Ardabil. In former times Pīrūzābād had been the capital of the Khalkāl District, and Mustawfī mentions a number of the neighbouring villages (Amudān, Klāmīsh-bī, Sanjad-rūd, and Zanjābād), but none of these unfortunately are now to be found on the map. Dārmavaz, with the villages of Kūf, Jaskū, and Zavar, was of this neighbourhood. Shāhūd was the District on the stream called the Āb-Shāl, an affluent of the Safīd-rūd (L. 218th). Of this district the chief places were Shāl [4] and Kulūr (which still exist), and adjacent lay the Tāsh (or Tawāsh) District of 'Irāk Ajamī. Pishkīn (which in the present maps is written Misakīn) is the name of the District of which Ahar [5] was the chief town; the town of Pishkīn also existed, and formerly was known as Varāvī, lying one march from Ahar. A number of other places were of this district, among them Takallafah, Unūr, which with Varāvī is described by Yāqūt (i, 367, iv, 918), also Arjak, Jiyūr, and Kalantar, this last being at the foot of the hill called Siyā. Kūh, 'the black mountain' (L. 205th). Most of the other places in Pishkīn here mentioned must have stood on the southern slopes of the Sablān mountain (L. 204^{re}), though only the last named, Kalantar, now appears on the map, Ibn Pishkīn being the family name of the Amir of the Province.

The city of Ahar [5] lay on the river of the same name (the Ahar-rūd). This flowed down from the Pass of Armīn, which the Mongols called Gachak Nīl (Blue Lake), and after taking up the Ardabil river discharged into the Aras (L. 217th, see also Route xxii). To the north of Ahar was the mountain called Sarahand (L. 205th), and in the neighbourhood at the foot of Mount Sablān stood the

following places, namely, Darāvard, where the Mongols had their winter quarters, the Castle of Kahrūn, Kīlān-Fadlūn, and Maft (some MSS. have Yāft, and Baft is printed in the *Jihān Nūma*, p. 385). Mardān Naʿīm apparently lay to the northward of Ahar, on the Aras river. The castle of Naw-Diz (surrounded by the towns of Hal, Bāl, Hindavūn, and Bulūk Injū) stood on the upper waters of the Ahar river and is described by Yāqūt (iv, 822). The city of Khivī [6], or Khor, stands on an affluent of the Aras which rises in the mountains to the north of Salmās [7]. This latter city, as well as Urmīyah [8], which now gives its name to the Lake, and Ushnūyah [9], all lie at some distance to the westward from the shore, standing on streams that flow into the Lake. The town of Sarāv [10], otherwise written Sarat or Sarūb, lies under Sabūn Kūh in the midst of four Districts, these are named by Mustawfī Warzand, Darand, Barāghūsh, and Sakhr; its stream has already been mentioned as the most important of the rivers flowing through Tabriz.

Miyānah or Miyanj [11], formerly a large town, but when our author wrote a mere village, stands in the Garm-rūd or 'Hot River' district. At some distance above the town the river Garm-rūd, which rises in the mountains south of Sarāv, joins the left bank of the Miyanj river, and this last below the town further receives the water of the Hasht-rūd—'Eight Streams'—on its right bank, which, before flowing in, passed under a great bridge of thirty-two arches, and had its source in the hills to the eastward of Maraghab (L. 218*a*, n, *q*; also *Jihān Nūma*, p. 383). The Miyāj river itself came down from the west, rising in the country south of Ujūn; after receiving the streams of its two affluents, it turned northward at no great distance from the town of Miyanj, and poured its water into the Safid-rūd, which from this point, and down a considerable length of its lower course, formed the boundary between the provinces of Adharbayjan and Persian Trūk. The Safid-rūd 'White River'—which Mustawfī says the Turks called Il-lan Mān (evidently a corruption

of the Mongol words *Ulan Mären*), meaning 'Red River,'¹ had its head-waters in the Kerdistān province in the Jibāl Panj Angušt, called in Turkish Beş-parmak, both names signifying the 'Five-finger-mountain.' Flowing northward, the Safid-rūd first received the Zanjān river (already mentioned in Chapter 2) on its right bank, then the Mīyānīj rivers on its left bank, and, next turning westward, received also on its left bank the united streams of the Sanjīdāh and Qadiv-rūd (given in the *Jihān Nama*, p. 388, as Sanjad and Kudpū) coming down from the hills to the south of Ardabil (L. 218f), the position of which river is fixed by the Itinerary (Route xx). Below this, and also on the left bank, there flowed in the Shāl river² from the Shāhriḍ District, already spoken of in a previous paragraph. After passing through the Tālīsh district, the Safid-rūd was next joined on its right bank by the Tūrūm river, and then by the river Shān-rūd of the Country of the Assassins, both of which streams have already been mentioned in Chapter 2, and finally in Kawn of the Gilān Province the Safid-rūd flowed out to the Caspian (L. 215c).

Marāghah, one of the former capitals of the province of Adharbayjān, stood on the river Šāfi-rūd, which, rising in Mount Sahead, flowed out directly, or indirectly by overflowing into the bed of the Jaghtū-rūd, into the Urmīyah Lake (L. 218g). The city of Marāghah was famous for the Observatory built by the order of Halaḡū Khān for Nāsir-ad-Dīn of Īlūs, the astronomer, but in the time of Hamd-Allah this building was already in ruins.³ The districts of Marāghah are given as Sarajun, Nīyājūn, Dazakh-rūd, Gāvḍūl, Hasht-rūd, Bihistān, Angūran, and Kūl Uzūn

¹ Part of its course is now known as the K. ul Uzun, which in Turkish has the same meaning. For the Mongol words see *Mongolisch-Deutsch Worterbuch*, by J. J. Schmidt, pp. 826 and 223c. From this and other passages, it is clear that *Mustawīl* means *Angšt* Mongol, and Turk indifferently.

² This stream is now called the Shahrūd, has the great right bank effluent from the mountains north of Kāvin with which it must not be confounded.

³ These are described by General Schüder in the *Berlin Zeitschrift für Erdkunde*, 1883, p. 338, and a plan is there given.

but the spellings are uncertain. Busawā [12] or Passawā will be found on the map to the south-east of Ushnūyah, and Dih Kīwūkān [13], on a stream from Mount Sahand, lies near the eastern shore of Lake Urmīyah. Laylān [14]—the MSS. generally spell the name Nuylān—is on the Jaghtū river, which, side by side with the river Taghtū, both rising in the Kurdistan hills, flows into the lake from the south. At periods of high flood the waters of the rivers Sāfi, Taghtū, and Jaghtū all mingle together in the swamp formed at the south-western corner of the Urmīyah Lake (L. 218*b*, p).

The town of Murand [15] lies to the north of the lake, and its river, which is also called the Zūlū, is a tributary of the Khoī (or Khuvī) river, which flows to the Aras (L. 218*r*). To the northward of Murand lay the castle of Dizmūr, on a tributary of the Aras, which Yākūt (iv, 573) has also described. Zanjyan or Zangjyan [16] stood near the bridge over the Aras called Pīr-i-Khudā Āfarin, and this was counted as of the Murīan Na'im district mentioned above. In this neighbourhood also appears to have been the town of Rīvaz—some MSS. give Zalkur and Rīvaz, with Zanuz in the *Jān Nūmā* (p. 387). Karkar [17] is mentioned by Yakut (iv, 262), and is possibly identical with the fortress named Hūār Karm (from a mistake of the copyist) by 'Alī of Yazd, it stood close to the great bridge over the Aras, built by Diyā-al Mulk, son of Malik-Saah's Wazīr, the celebrated Nā'im al-Mulk. 'Alī of Yazd describes this bridge at some length (*Zafar Nāmāh*, i, 309), and it crossed the Aras on the direct road from Nakhchivān to Murand.

Nakhchivān [18], which the Arab geographers called Nasawwā, lies to the north of the Aras, and four leagues from the city was the snow-clad mountain of Māst Kūh (L. 206*r*). The fortress of Alarjik, according to Saint Martin (*Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i, 146), was called Krenjag in Armenian, and lay a short distance to the east of Nakhchivān. Mustawfi also speaks of Shurmārī, Nughaz, and Faghun as fortresses of the Nakhchivān District, and probably likewise of this.

neighbourhood was Akhbūn (or Ajnān), known as the Kār-khārah or 'Workshop,' on account of the works at the neighbouring copper-mine. Urdūbūd [19] stands on the Aras, at the junction of a stream from the north, which Mustawfī says rises in Mount Kiyūn (or Kibūn), and on this same river higher up by Azūd, the last town mentioned in this chapter

Chapter 4. Mūghān and Arrān.

Contents. Bajarvān, 159a, Barzand, 160f; Pīlvār, 160g; Maḡrūshād and Hamshahrah, 160k, Baylākān, 160n; Gajjah, 160p. Bardand, 160s, Hurak, 160v.

Mūghān or Mūkān is still the name of the Steppe country lying south of the lower course of the Aras river. Ḥamd-Allah states that this district stretched from the right bank of the river southward to the pass of Saug-bar-Sang—'Stone upon Stone'—in the hills above Pishkin, and that from the plain the mountain of Sablūn Kūh was everywhere visible. As of this province he also mentions (L. 203k) the region called Gulistan Kuh—'Rose-garden mountain'—noted for its flowers, and here the Mulūhid sect or Assassins had their famous paradise. Bajarvān had of old been the capital of Mūghān, but in the time of Mustawfī was fallen to ruin and become a mere village. It is no longer found on the map, but its position is given in the Itinerary (Routes xx and xxii, as lying four leagues north of Barzand [1], which still exists, and which was a notable town as early as the days of the Caliph Muṭṭasim, son of Ḥārūn-ar-Rashīd. Pīlvār [2] or Pīlsuvār (not marked on any map) stood on the stream coming from Bajarvān, and was eight leagues distant from the latter town. It is said to have been named after an Amīr of the Buyids. Maḡmūdabad [3] in the plain of Gāvharī, near the Caspian, according to the Itinerary (Route xxi) was twelve leagues beyond Pīlvār. Hamshahrah lay two leagues distant from the sea-shore; it

was also called Bū Shahrāh or Abar-Shahr, according to the *Jihān Nūmā* (p. 393), but it is impossible now to fix exactly the position of any of these places, which appear to have completely disappeared from the modern maps.

The territory of Arrān, which the Arab geographers always spell Al-Rān (pronounced Ar-Rān), as though it were an Arabic name, is the triangle of land included between the rivers Aras and Kur—the Araxes and Cyrus. The Aras is described (L. 2136) as rising in the Kālīkalā mountains near Arzan-ar Rūn (now Erzurum), whence it flows through Armenia and along the southern border of Arrān to its junction with the Kur, having been previously joined from the south, or right bank, by the Kara Sū, the name, apparently, of the lower course of united streams which flow down from Ardabil and Ahar described in Chapter 3. The river Kur (L. 2157), also rises in the Kālīkalā mountains, and passing through Gorystān came to the city of Tiflis. Below this town it formed the northern frontier of Arrān, and Hamd-Allah states that here a branch went off to the Lake of Shavkur, though what sheet of water is thus indicated is not very clear. Thence the main stream of the Kur passed on down to its junction with the Aras, the combined streams flowing out to the Caspian after passing through the Gushtasfi country.

The capital of Arrān was Baylakān, at the close of the fourteenth century A.D. frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd in his account of the conquests of Timar. During his siege the city was partially destroyed, but was rebuilt in 1403 A.D. by command of Timar, and a canal dug, six farsakhs long, bringing to it the waters of the Aras river (*Zafar Nāmah*, II, 541, 545). Though apparently all traces of the town have disappeared, its approximate position is fixed by the Arab Itineraries of Ibn Khurdadbih (p. 122), Kudāmah (p. 213), and Ibn Hawkal (p. 251). According to these Baylakān lay fourteen leagues south of Bardhāsh, and seven or nine leagues north of the Aras bank, on the road coming up from Harzand. In Armenian it was known as Phaidagaran (Saint Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*,

i, 154). Bardhā'ah [4], a town that still exists, the name being more often written Barda', stood on the river Tartur, a right bank affluent of the Kur; and Ganjah to the north-west is now more generally known as Elizabetpol, its Russian name. Širak, or Mirak, was the name of the summer pastures above Barda', but it is not now found marked on our maps, and in the *Jihān Namā* (p. 392) the name is printed Turk.

Chapter 5. Šīrvān.

Contents: Bākūyah, 159a and 161a; Šamākhī, 161a, Kabalah, 161a; Firūzābād or Firūz-kubād, 161d; the Gushtāsfi District, 161e.

The province of Šīrvān lay to the north of the Kur river, and extended to the foot of that part of the Caucasus range known to Moslem geographers as Darband-i-Bāb-al-Abwāb—'the Barrier of the Gate of Gates.' Bākūyah, or Bākū, was its port on the Caspian, and Šamākhī in and—now called Šemakhā—was the capital city, famous, as Mustawfī relates, from the legendary Rock of Moses and the Fountain of Life, both of which were said to have existed here. Kabalah stood near the mountains; its position is unknown, but from its mention by 'Alī of Yazd (i, 406) when describing the campaigns of Timur in Georgia, it must have stood very near the river Kur, and the Kabalah mountain is also mentioned by Mustawfī (L. 206d). Firūzābād, or Firūz-kubād, both names being given by Yāqūt (iii, 928, 929), was a town standing in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, though its position cannot be more exactly fixed. The Gushtāsfi province, said to have been so named after Gushtāsfi, one of the ancient Persian kings, formed part of Šīrvān, and lay along the shore of the Caspian above the mouth of the Aras river.

Chapter 6. Guryistān and Abkhās.

Contents: Alān, 161*k*, Ānī, 161*m*; Tiflis, 161*n*, Khanān, 161*p*;
Kars, 161*p*.

In the district of Abkhasia Alān is given by Mustawfi as the name of a town lying under the Alburz Mountains on an affluent of the Kar. Ānī was the ancient capital of Georgia, the ruins of which still remain; but Tiflis had become the chief city of the province already in the time of Humd-Allah Khurān (reading uncertain, Janān, Khaban, and Habān, all being given in the MNS.) was the name of a castle on the Arrān frontier. According to Mukaddasī (p. 382) and other Arab geographers this town lay half-way between Shamkūr and Tiflis, being three marches from either place. Kars, to the south-west of Tiflis, was already a town with a strong fortress when Humd-Allah wrote.

Chapter 7. Rūm.

Contents: Sivas, 161*y*, Abulustān and Ankarah, 162*a*, Arzau, ān, 162*b*; Arzan ar-Rūm, 162*c*, A-āk, 162*f*, Akaik, 162*l*, Ak Sarāy, 162*l*, Āk Sahr, 162*n*; Amāsiyah, 162*o*, Antūkiyah and Awnik, 162*g*, Daburt, 162*s*, Zulfarā and Zūbarkī, 162*t*, Dhū, ā, 162*u*, Kharburt, 162*v*; Shahrab, 162*w*, Samsān, 162*w* Shamsāst, 162*x*, 'Amūriyah, 162*x*; Kalikālā, 163*b*, Karā Hīār, 163*s*, Kastamūriyah, 163*g*, Kūmanak, 163*b*; Kūriyah, 163*y*, Kayasriyah, 163*s*, Kūt, 163*v*, Kamākh, 163*w*; Gūl, Kīr, and Baḡī, 163*x*; Lalūab, 163*y*; Maletiyah, 163*s*; Nigdūn and Niksār, 164*o*; Hūshyār, 164*d*, Yalqan Bāzār, 164*f*; Zamdūd, 164*g*, Kīshkuhr, 164*h*, Kadūk and Tamarughūsh, 164*y*, Ziyarat Bāzār, 164*k*, Agraḡūr and Kawāk, 164*l*, Kūsa Hīār and Savrī Hīār, 164*m*, Kalūniyah, Guetaki, and Marazkūbriyah, 164*n*.

The kingdom of Rūm, Asia Minor, was at the time when Mustawfi wrote divided among the dynasties of the Ten Amīrs, who had succeeded to the inheritance of the Saljūqs.

in these parts, and their history has been fully discussed by Professor Lane-Poole in the pages of this Journal (1882, p. 773). Unfortunately, the Arab geographers afford us but little information about Asia Minor, which, during the earlier centuries of the Abbasids, had of course formed part of the Byzantine empire, and which only came within the boundaries of Islām when occupied (470 A.D.) by the Seljūks of Rūm in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D. The next two centuries (the sixth and seventh of the Ilghāz) were the period of magnificence for these Seljūks in Asia Minor, after which their power rapidly waned before the rising glory of the Ottoman Turks, whose Sultan, 'Orkūn, in the early part of the fourteenth century A.D. had established his capital at Bursa, had organized the famous corps of the Janissaries, and, after taking Nicomedia in 1327 and Nicaea in 1330, was threatening the Hellespont.

This was the state of affairs when Mustawfī wrote, and which is described by his contemporary Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, who travelled over the length and the breadth of Asia Minor during the year 733 (1333 A.D.). The description of Asia Minor given by Mustawfī, however, evidently dates from an earlier period, and gives an account of the country as it was under the Seljūks; he knows nothing of the later conquests of the Turks, and the most western town, apparently, that he mentions is Gūl Iḥwār, 120 miles south-west of Antākiyah. More than one-half of the places mentioned in the chapter of the *Nuzhat* can easily be identified on the modern map; but unfortunately, among some fifty place-names, I am unable to fix either the position or the true reading for nearly a score of towns, and neither Ibn Baṭṭūṭah nor Hājjī Khalfah are of much aid in the matter.

The *Jihān Numā* of the latter author quotes little of the *Nuzhat* in the chapters devoted to Asia Minor, and the *Jihān Numā* describes the country as it existed in the days when Hājjī Khalfah wrote, namely, at the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D., when all Asia Minor had for nearly three centuries formed an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. Further, the information which Mustawfī gives

about the towns that he names is very meagre, and the alphabetical order, in which for the most part these names are arranged, unfortunately fails to give the clue which we should have were the towns mentioned according to the various districts, or provinces by province.

The chief city of the Kingdom of Rūm was Sivas (Sebasteia), which had been rebuilt by 'Alā'ad-Dīn Kay-Kubād the Saljuk. Its wool was famous and was largely exported. Abulustūn is now known as Al-Bamnā, and is the medieval Amaseus. Ankarah (written with the dotted *k* and short vowel) is Angora, but the name, as Yākūt (i, 390) states, is more generally written Angūriyah (with *g* or *k*, and long vowels), under which form it frequently occurs in the *Zufar Nāmāh* of 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 417 and elsewhere). Arzanjūn on the upper Euphrates and Arzan-ar-Rūm (Erzerum) need no comment, being well known. Arūk also lay near the Euphrates, but it is not apparently marked on the map; neither is Aḡsik to be found, but the readings in both cases are doubtful. Āk Surāy 'White Palace'—is some distance to the south-west of the Tatta Lake; it was built by 'Izz-ad-Dīn K.ij-Arsālūn the Saljuk in 566 (1171 A.D.).

There were two places called Āk Shahr—'White Town'—one lying seven leagues north-west of Arzanjūn; the other a town three marches to the north-west of Kūniyah, and both are marked on our maps. Amāsiyah (Amaseia on the Halya) and Antakiyah (Antiocheia) still exist. Awnik or Avanik is given by Yākūt (i, 408), and 'Alī of Yazd (i, 691) mentions it as having been stormed and captured by Timur, it being a castle in the mountains eight leagues distant from Arzan-ar-Rūm. Mustawfi adds that the town at the foot of the castle was called Abaskhūr, and according to Saint Martin (*Mémoires*, i, 109) Avanik is the place now called in Turkish Javūn Kal'ah, which lies to the north of the Aras between Hasan Kal'ah on the west and Majankird on the east. Babirt lies to the north of Arzanjūn, but I am unable to identify Zūfariū, Zūbarkī, Dhulu (or Zūlū), and Shahrab, which last is reported to have

stood on the coast of the Black Sea, the spelling, however, of the first three names is very doubtful, and apparently none of them occur in the pages of the *Jihān Nāmā*, or in any of the earlier geographers. Kharbirt, or Kharput, is near the junction of the eastern Euphrates or river Arsanūs, on which stream, but higher up, lay Shimshūt (see I S. 57). Samasūn was already a celebrated port for shipping on the Black Sea; 'Amūriyah (Amorium) still exists (Mustawfī, apparently by some error, states that the name was then pronounced Ankūriyah, which, as already noted, is Angora). Kūlikālū was a city in the country of this name, near the Armenian frontier (see I S. 54), which has generally been identified with the Byzantine city of Theodosiopolis on the upper Euphrates, otherwise called Karin.

Karā Hīqūr—'Black Fort'—was the name of diverse castles, four of which were especially celebrated. One (apparently not marked in our maps) was on the mountains near Kayseriyah; another was of the district of Kūniyah (probably the Karā Hīqūr lying south-west of 'Amūriyah); a third castle of this name stood near Nīkdah, while the fourth Karā Hīqūr is that lying a short distance north-east of Āḡ Shahr and belonging to the Arsanjān district. Kashtamūniyah lies some distance west from Samasūn; and Kūmanūt is one of the many towns called Comana by the Greeks. Kūniyah is the older Iconium; here the castle had been built by Sultān K. alij Arslān of cut stone, and in like material great city walls were erected by 'Ala-ad-Dīn Kay-Kubād the Saljūq; Kūniyah further was celebrated for the tomb of the Šūfī saint and poet Jalāl-ad-Dīn Rūmī.

Kaysariyah (Caesarea Mazaca) still exists, but Kāt (or Kāb) is apparently not to be found on our maps. Kamakh (or Kamkh) on the Euphrates is well known (I S. 48), and Gūl is probably Gūl Hīqūr to the south-west of Antākīyah, which was visited by Ibn Baṭūṭah (II, 269), but the double town called Kīr and Bakī, I am unable to identify. Lūlūh is in the Cilician passes north-west of Tarsus, and Nīkdah (or Nīgdah) lies to the north of it. Malatīyah is Melitene near

the Euphrates (I S. 48), and N keār stands a short distance south-east of Sansūn and Amāsiyah.

Hushyār (wh ch is not mentioned in the *Jihān Nūma*) is said to have been the Castle of Karamūn, better known as Larandah, the capital of the Karamūn province on the borders of Little Armenia. Yelkan Bazar (not marked on our maps) was a town between Kūniyah and Āk Shahr, celebrated for its hot springs; and Kīr-Shahr, frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 418 and elsewhere), stands half-way between Ankūrah and Kaymariyah. Zamandū, Kadūk (or Kadū.), and Tamar Aghāch (or Tūr Aghach) I am unable to identify, and the names do not occur in the *Jihān Nūma*. Ziyārat Bāzar is possibly the town of Ziyārat to the south of Khar-pūt. Agridūr is the town at the southern end of the lake of this name, it is mentioned by Ibn Batūtah (ii, 266), also by 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 485). Kavāk probably is the place of this name lying a short distance to the west of Sīvūs. Sivri H sār is the well-known city, north of 'Amūriyah, to which, according to 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 448), Timur marched in six stages from Angora. Neither Kulaniyah (Colonia) nor Kasakī occurs in the *Jihān Nūma*, nor is either apparently to be found on the map, for both are said by Mustawfī to lie on the shore of the Black Sea. Kūsh Hışār, however, exists, standing to the south of Kastamūniyah, and Malankubiyah, which is referred to by Yakūt (iv, 635), lies east of Kūniyah, and is the ancient Malacopeia.

¹ Kulaniyah of the Arab geographers is generally identified with Colonia, founded by Pompey as described by Procopius which the Armenians call Azhavendzor or Aghenna, and which lies about 60 miles north west of Kamsīk See Saint Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i, 189.

Chapter 8. Armenia.

Contents: Akhlāt, 164t; Abtūt (or Abtūk) and Arjish, 164v, Armūk, 164r, Aštāk, 164p, Bārkirī, 164s, Bayān, 165b, Kharkūn, 165c, Kīshāb, Jarnurast, and Lākiyūmāt, 165d, Haugmābād, 165e Sulam and 'Ayn, 165f, Kalūd and Malāzgard, 165g, Yān and Yāšūn, 165j, Vulāshgird, 165m.

The Arab-geographers unfortunately afford us but meagre accounts of Armenia, and though 'Alī of Yazd in his description of the campaigns of Timur enables us to identify some of the outstanding names, Hījī Khalfah in the *Jihān Nūmā* proves of little service. Hence, out of the list, as given above, it has been only possible to identify a third of the places named.

Hamd-Allah remarks that this country is divided into Greater and Lesser Armenia; but that with Lesser Armenia (otherwise Cilicia), of which the capital was Sis, he does not deal in detail, for this formed no part of Irān. The great lake which is the central feature of the country, now called Lake Van, Hamd-Allah describes (L. 226j) under the name of the Arjish or Akhlāt Lake, from what were then the two chief towns on its borders. It was celebrated for the fish called *Ṭurakkā*, with which its waters, that were salt, abounded. Our author also speaks of the modern Gūkehah Lake under the name of Buhayrah Gūkehah Tangīz, meaning in Turkish 'the Blue Lake' (L. 226k). It lay on the Adharbayjan frontier of Armenia, and its waters were sweet and good for drinking, the Gūkehah Tangīz is also frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (*Zafar Nāmāh*, i, 414, 415; ii, 378).

The town of Akhlāt, at the north-west corner of the Vān Lake, was then the capital of Armenia and produced revenue to the amount of 50,500 dīnārs (about £12,600), and above Akhlāt to the eastward rose the great mountain of Kāh Sībān, now called Sīpān Dāgh (L. 205l). Neither Abtūt, 'a fine town,' nor Armūk is apparently marked on the map; but Arjish is still found at the north-west end of the lake. Aštūk

is described as a good pasture-ground, where Arghūn Khān had built himself a Seray or palace for his summer quarters; it is the mountainous region now known as Ala Dāgh to the north and north-east of the lake, and is frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (I.S. 417, 421, 685); further, Timur kept his standing camp here during the Georgian campaigns. In the neighbourhood is the town of Būd-Māhī (Fish Dam), one stage to the eastward of Arjīsh (see Route xxv) on the Arjīsh bay of Lake Vān. Nūshāb lies at some distance to the south-east of the Vān Lake.

The places named Bayān (or Nabār), Kharūdīn (Kharāvīn or Jazīvīn), Jarmarast (Jarvarīb or Harsarbat), Lūki-yāmāt (Tūmānāt), Haogāmūbād, Salam (Shalam), 'Ayn, and Kabūd, are none of them to be found in Yūkhūt, though many of these names are copied into the *Jihān Nūmā* (p. 418) without comment; they have apparently also disappeared from the map, and the readings are in most cases uncertain. Malazjird lies on the upper course of the western Euphrates, due north of Lake Vān: the city of Vān itself is near the eastern end of the lake, and Vastān lies on its southern shore. The exact position of Valashgird is doubtful; but Yūkhūt (iv, 939) mentions a town of this name as situated near Akhlāt, though none is now shown on the map.

Chapter 9. *Jazīrah or Upper Mesopotamia.*

Contents Mosul, 165p, Irbil, 166s; Arsan and Āmid, 165t, Bāṣaydah and Bāṣarnūh, 165u, Bartalā, 166w, Jasūr, 165x, Bawūzī, and Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar, 163y, Hān, and Siwān, 165s, Hurrān, 166a, Ḥiṣn Kayfū and Khūbūr, 166s; Rās-al-'Ayn, 166f, Raḳḳah, 166g; Rūhā and Sa'īrd, 166e; Sanjar, 166p; Sūq-ath-Thamānīn, 166t, 'Aḳur, 166u, 'Imādiyyah, 166w, Karkīsiyā, 166z, Karmālīs and Mardīn, 166g; Mūsh, 167a, Mayāfāriḳayn, 167s, Naṣībīn, 167f; Ninuṣī, 167l.

The upper part of Mesopotamia is known either as *Jazīrah*, 'the Island,' or else as *Diyūr-Bakr* and *Diyūr-Rabī'ah*.

meaning the Lands of Bakr and Rabi'ah, the two Arab tribes which had settled in these parts before the Moslem conquest. Diyār-Rabi'ah is the south-eastern half of the province, with Mosul for capital; Diyār-Bakr being the north-western part, with Āmid for its chief town. Mosul on the Tigris was the largest city of the Jazīrah province; but Irbil (Arbela), to the eastward, standing half-way between the banks of the two Zabs, was a place of great importance. The Upper or Greater Zab rose in the mountains of Armenia and flowed down to join the Tigris at Hadithah¹; while the Lower or Lesser Zab, called also Majnūn, 'the mad river,' because of its swift current, rising also in Armenia joined the Tigris at the hill of Sinn (L. 214). In many of the MSS² Arzan or Arsanah is next described, an important town standing on a left bank affluent of the Tigris, and its ruins still exist.

Āmid is the chief place of Diyār-Bakr (and the town is often called by the name of the province), it stands on the Tigris to the westward and higher up than the inflow of the Arzan river. The towns of Bāzaydah and Bāzarnūh I am unable to identify³ (the latter name being variously given in the MSS. as Bāzarnūkh, Bāzanbūj, etc.), but from its position in the alphabetical order, the first syllable is apparently Bā—the Syriac form of *Bayt* or *Beth*—so common in the place-names of this region. Bartallā is mentioned by Yāqūt (i, 567), and still exists about sixteen miles to the eastward of Mosul, but it is difficult to identify the town called Jār or Jasur, and the reading is probably corrupt. Bawazij, though it has disappeared from the map, is mentioned by Yāqūt (i, 730), and from his account we learn that it stood near the mouth of the Lower

¹ Not to be confounded with Hadithah on the Euphrates, mentioned in Chapter I.

² British Museum MSS., Add. 7 708 16 737, and 23 642. Not to be confounded with Arzan-ar Rūm, otherwise Arzewum. In the *Taḥṣīl Nāmah* (i, 566) the name is spelt Arān.

³ Unless for Bāzaydah we read Bāzaydah which might be merely another way of spelling Bāzaydah (as the name is given by Yaqut, i, 466, the well-known town on the eastern bank of the Tigris opposite Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar, which had been the Roman fortress of Bāzaydah).

Zab, and not far from the hill of Sinn. Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar is a town on an island in the Tigris above Mosul (see I.S. 34), and Ilani, to the north of Āmid, according to Yāqūt (ii, 188), was celebrated for its iron-mine. What place *bitwān* or *biwān* represents is not clear, but the reading is not improbably corrupt.

Harrān, with its castle of cut stone, founded, it was said, by Arphaxad, son of Shem, lay near the sources of the river Balikh, which joined the Euphrates at Rakkaḥ (L. 219), Ilan Kayā is an important fortress on the Tigris, lying due south of Arzan (I.S. 264. Klabūr is the name of some town on the Khābūr river, on which stood Rāa-al-'Ayn, and the Klābur river, after taking up the Hirmān, joined the Euphrates at Karkiniyā, or Ctesium. Rakkah, the ancient Callinissa, stands on the Euphrates, above the junction of the Balikh river (I.S. 50), near the famous battlefield of Siffin. Rulā, or Edessa, is described in many of the MSS., and some details are given of its wonderful churches. Sāird (south of Bula) was famous for its manufacture of copper pots and cups. Snjar stood on the mountain side overlooking the Thartlār river, this last being a branch stream from the Hirmān river, which, flowing eastward, joined the Tigris at Takfī (L. 219a).

Sīk Thamānīn—'Market of the Eighty'—records the settlement of that number of the companions of Noah when, according to Moslem tradition, the Ark came to rest on Jabal Jūdī. This Sīk Thamānīn is not found on the maps, but Mount Jūdī is known, and in his Itinerary Mukaddasī (p. 149) reports that this town lay one march distant (west) of Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar, and Abu-l Fidā (p. 275) says that Thamānīn lay to the north of 'Inādiyyah. 'Akr, signifying 'a castle,' constantly recurs in place-names; the castle here intended is doubtless 'Akr-al-Humaydiyyah, mentioned also by Yāqūt (ii, 696), which is marked on the map some thirty miles to the south-east of 'Inādiyyah. This last, a town of considerable size, is said by Mustawfī to have

taken its name from 'Imād-ad-Dawlah the Buyid (brother of Mu'izz-ad-Dawlah), who died in 338 (A.D. 949). According to Ibn-al-Athir (xi, 60), however, 'Imādiyah had its name from 'Imad-ad-Dīn Zangī, Lord of Mosul, who had founded the town in 537 (A.D. 1142). Not far from 'Imadiyah is Karmalis, of the Mosul district, also mentioned by Yāqūt (iv, 267), which will be found to the south of Bartālā. ẖarkisiyā stands on the Euphrates at the junction of the Khābūr (L. 51). Mardīn was famous for its castle, and the Sūr river which irrigated its gardens flowed thence northward to join the Tigris (L. 219p). Mūsh stands near the upper waters of the Arsanus or eastern Euphrates, Mayasariḳaya lying south-west of it, and on a left bank affluent of the Tigris. Naṣībū or Nisābus, celebrated for its roses and venomous scorpions, is on the Hirmās river, which forms the chief affluent of the Khābūr (L. 219m), lastly, Nineveh (Ninawī), opposite Mosul on the Tigris, was famous for the shrine shown here of the prophet Yunus or Jonah.

Chapter 10. *Kurdistan.*

Contente Alānī, 167g; Alishtar and Bahār, 167r; Khafṭiyān, 167s; Darband Tāj Khātūn and Darband Zangī, 167t; Darbīl, 167u; Dīnavar, 167v; Sulṭānābād Jamjamūl, 167w; Shah razār, 167y; Kirmānshāh, 168a; Kirind and Khūshān, 168f; Kangavar, 168h; Maydasht, 168k; Harsa, 168i; Vastān, 168m.

The description of Kurdistan given by Mustawfī (which Hājji Khalifah has copied almost verbatim into his *Jihān Numā*) presents a number of small problems which I find myself unable satisfactorily to solve. Kurdistan, or the Land of the Kurds, is not mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers, and it appears to have been first erected into a separate government under the Saljuqs, who, in the time of Sulaymān Shah, divided it off from the rest of the Jibāl Province, which they called Persian 'Irāk, as explained in Chapter 2. Sulaymān Shah, under whose rule Kurdistan appears to have flourished greatly, surnamed Abūh (or

Āyūh) was the nephew of Sultan S. njar, who had appointed him governor of this province, and Sulaymān Shāh at a later date—that is, from 554 to 556 (1159 to 1161 A.D.)—became for a short time the Sajūk Sultan of the Two ‘Iraks, and chief of his house.

Alāni (thus in the *Jihān Numa*, p. 450, though some MSS. read Alābī) was one of the chief towns of the province of Kurdistan, but no trace of it is to be discovered on the present maps, it is mentioned apparently by no other geographer, and is not marked in the Itinerary. At Aishtar (the next town named by Mustawfī) there was an ancient Fire-temple called Ardahash (or Arakhash), and Aishtar [1] would appear to have been some town in the well-known plain of this name, still so marked on our maps. This town is possibly that given in Ibn Hawkal (p. 254), and others, as lying ten farsaks south-west of N.āhvand, being twelve leagues north of Sābīrkhwāst. The older geographers, however, spell the name Lashtar, and the MSS. of the *Nushat* give every variety of reading for this name—such as Alishat, Al-Bashr (so in the *Jihān Numa*, p. 450), Alishar and Basht—so that the identification given above is more than doubtful, and in regard to the Fire-temple I am at a loss for any further references.¹

The town of Bahār [2], with its castle, which Hamd-Allah reports to have been the capital of Kurdistan in the days of Sulaymān Shāh, lies some eight miles to the north of Hamadan. Kūftiyān (given as Khanyān, Hākhyān, Juflān, and Kōaysān, with diverse other readings in the MSS, the form Hākhyān being printed in the *Jihān Numa*, p. 450) is difficult to identify, it was a fine castle, according to Hamd-Allah, that stood on the bank of the Zāb river (but

¹ On his march from Tatar to Shirāz, Timur, according to ‘Alī of Yazd (c. 800), after crossing the Au-Shirān, camped on the Plain of Lashtar, and two days later coming to the river of the Sūb Dāwran valley, he led at Basht. Both places will be found on the modern map, and naturally suggest themselves as possible alternatives, one or other, for the town of Kurdistan mentioned by Hamd-Allah—but unfortunately each would appear to be out of the question, and too far south being well within the boundary of Fārs ever to have been counted as of Kurdistan. The *Jihān Numa*, as usual, merely copies the *Sakhat* without comment.

whether Upper or Lower Zab is not stated), being surrounded by many villages.

The towns of Darband (Pass of) Tōj Klātun and Darband Zangī, also, are neither of them marked on the map. Darband Tūshī Khā'ūn, however, is frequently referred to by 'Alī of Yazd (i, 585, 609, 640) in his account of the marches of Timur through Kerdistan. Darbil, or Disbil, 'a medium-sized town,' likewise is not found either on the map or in the works of the earlier Arab geographers, the spelling, however, is most uncertain, the MSS. giving Darail, Wazpil, etc., with some other variants.

Dīnavar, the ruins of which have been described by De Morgan (*Mission en Perse*, ii, 95, 96,, was stud. when Mustawfī wrote, a fine town, and produced excellent corn crops. The ruins of Jamjamāl [3] are marked on the maps as lying due east of Kirmānshāh and south of Bisūtūn [7], this position (for there are other villages of the same name) being confirmed by the distances given in the Itinerary (Route ii), and our author states that this place, called more especially Sulṭānābād Jamjamāl, was at one time the capital of Kerdistan, and that it was founded by Sulṭān Ujaytū the Mongol. The city of Shahrāzur [4] is to be identified with the ruins at Yāsīn Tappah, in the present plain of Shahrāzūr. The town was known to the Persians as Nīm-Rūh—'Half-way'—that is, lying half-way between the ancient Fire-temple at Madāin and the Temple on the Adharbayjān frontier at Safūrīk (already mentioned above in Chapter 2), which Sir H. Rawlinson has identified with Shīs of the Arab geographers (see J R G.S., x, 65).

Kirmānshāh, which the Arabs called Kirmān, was celebrated for the sculptures in the neighbouring mountain of Bisūtūn. Kīrind [5] and Kūshān were two villages at the head of the Huiwūn pass, the name of Kūshān has now apparently disappeared from the maps, though Kīrind remains; and this latter in the time of Mustawfī was the less important place of the two. Kanguvūr, which the Arabs called Kaṣr-al Luṣū—'Robbers' Castle'—according to our author had been built with stones taken from the ancient

site at Bisūtūn. Māyidasht, or Māhidasht, is still the name of the great plain watered by the Kirind river; and Harein [6], the name of a castle and town, lies some miles south-east of Kirmānshāh. Finally, Vastām [7], or Bastām, is apparently the hamlet near the present Tāk-i-Bastān, at the foot of the Bisūtūn hill, for it is described as a large village lying over against the great Achaemenian sculptures, which represent, according to the Persians, King Khusrū Parvīz and his horse Shabdīz, with Queen Sīrīn, and those Mustawfī carefully describes in his account of the Bisūtūn mountain (L. 203f').

Chapter 11. *Khūzistān.*

Contents: Tustar, 168p; Ahwāz, 169c, Tarh, 169s, Junday Shāpūr, 169g; Hawīzah, 169p, Dizfūl 169l, Baskara, 169q, Rāmharūz, 169r; Sūa, 169s; Turūwak, 169w, 'Askar Mukram, 169s; Masrukūn, 170a.

Before noticing the towns in this province it will be well to summarize such information as is given by Ḥamd-Allah about the rivers which flow out to the Persian Gulf by separate mouths or through the tidal estuaries of the Shatt-al-'Arab. The chief stream of Khūzistān is the Kārūn, which Mustawfī and the older geographers call the Dujayl (or Little Tigris) of Tustar. This had its source in the Zardah Kūh—the Yellow Mountains—of Great Lur, where also the Zandah-rud of Isfahān had its head-waters (L. 204g, and see Chapter 2). The Dujayl river, after many windings, flowed down past Tustar to 'Askar Mukram and Ahwāz, where it was joined by the Dizfūl river, and their united streams poured into the broad estuary of the Shatt-al-'Arab (L. 214s), which went out to the Persian Gulf. The Dizfūl river, which joined the Kārūn below 'Askar Mukram, was formed by the united streams of the Kuzki river and the Ab-i-Kaw'ah (or Kar'ah), which last, flowing down from

Burūjird (see above, Chapter 2), was also named the Sīlākḥūr (L. 215a). Further to the westward came the Karkab, also called the river of Sūs; this rose in the Alvand mountains; it was soon joined by the river Kūlkū, also by the stream from Kuarramābād, and thence flowing down past Sūs to the Hawīzah country came to the tidal estuary of the Kārun, by which its waters, uniting with the overflow of the Tigris and Euphrates, finally reached the sea (L. 216a, also *Jihān Nāmā*, p. 280).

The boundary between Khūzistān and Fārs was formed by the river Ṭāb, which is the name that Mustawfī and all the Arab geographers gave to the river called at present the Jurrih; the modern Ṭāb river (flowing past Hindiyān) being presumably the medieval Āb-i-Shirīn, but there is some confusion in the present nomenclature. The Ṭāb river (of Mustawfī and the Arab geographers) rose in the Saram hula in Luristān, it was soon joined by the waters of the Āb-i-Masīn which came down from the Sumayram mountains, and the united streams some distance below the point of junction were crossed by the great bridge of Rakn near Arrajān. After watering the Rishahr districts the Ṭāb finally flowed out to the sea (L. 218a, v); and these places will all be more particularly mentioned in Chapter 12 on Fārs.

Khūzistān was coterminous on the north with Kurdistān, these two Provinces coming in between Arabian and Persian 'Irak, though Šaymarah, counted as of the latter (see Chapter 2), must have been very near the frontier of 'Irak 'Arabi. When Mustawfī wrote the capital of the Khūzistān Province was Tustar, already then commonly called Shastar, famous for the great weir across the Kārun, which at the city gate divided the stream into three parts, called respectively the Canals of Dasbt-Ābād, of Dū-Dānik, and of Chalār-Dānik (Two Sixths and Four Sixths). Abwāz has already been noticed in my paper on Ibn Serapion (p. 311). The town of Turb (or Tab according to some MSS.), on the sea-shore, I cannot identify, but apparently it occupied more or less the position of Bāsiyān, so frequently

mentioned by the earlier geographers. The ruins of Junday Shāpūr [1] exist at the village of Shāhabūd, lying half-way between Dizfūl and Tustar, the town was famous for its sugar-canes, as also was Hawizah [2], lying to the east of the lower Kārūn, which town, Mustawfī writes, was inhabited mainly by Sabionna. Dizfūl—'Bridge of the Dīz river'—was anciently called Andāmīsh, from the name of the bridge of forty-two arches which here crossed the Dīz river. This Bridge of Andāmīsh is mentioned by Ibn Hawkal (p. 239), and other earlier geographers whom Yāqūt (i. 372), has quoted (see also Ibn Serapion, p. 812, and 'All of Yazd, i., 539,; its remains still exist (De Bode, *Luristān*, ii, 163).

Daskarah (or Dastgir) was on the 'Irāk border, according to Yāqūt (ii, 575), and possessed a strong castle, but its exact position is difficult to fix. Ramhurmuz [3], the name of which, says Mustawfī, was already corrupted to Rūmīz, lay near the frontier of Fars; Sus [4], 'the most ancient city of Khūzistān,' was famous for the tomb of the prophet Daniel, and its ruins stand near the Karkhah river some few miles south-south-west of Dizfūl (De Bode, ii, 186). For Sus some of the MSS. give the spelling Susin, but probably from the scribe having confused this dūs with the town of a similar name in Luristān, already mentioned in Chapter 2. Tārāzak (or Tārārah, as given in the *Jūlās Nāmā*, p. 284) cannot unfortunately be identified, it was famous for its excellent sugar-canes. 'Askar Mukrām [5], the ruins of which are at Band-i-Kir (see I B. 312), Mustawfī reports was also known by the Persian name of Lasīkar or 'Camp', and somewhere higher up on the Maarūkūn stream [6], was the town of this same name, the site of which has apparently disappeared from the modern maps.

Chapter 12. Fārs.

Contents Shirka, 170u. Coasts of Abu Zuhayr and of Umārah, 171u. B. shāshāt, 171y. Tawwaj 171u. Khahr, 172u. Khattāle, 172b. Kūmāshāh, 172c. Kūmāvan, Dān n. and Dārk, 172f. Sarristān and K. bahān, 172g. S. M. Nāstirang and Kūmān 172g. Bāmbān and Hīrak, 172h. Fīrāzād, 172u. Kārā's Air and Aqar 172u. Kāryān and Kūmān of Fūmān, 172y. Kāsar, 173b. Jāghir and Kālarān, 173c. Māncān 173y. M. mānd, 173d. H. nū and H. nū Kābān, 173e. H. nū and Tūsh, 173u. S. n. k. r. n. u. its three castles, 173u. Ahrāz 174f. Abārah 174g. F. āghān, 174u. Isfānān and Kūmān 174u. Ildid and Urgan, 174y. Nārah, 174y. Buvān and Marbat, 174u. Bay'ā, 174f. Hārī Adān, and Sāshāz, 174u. Hāfrak and Kā. 174u. Khurramāh, 174y. Rāmyā 174u. Māyā, 175u and y. Sā. k. and H. rāt, 175b. Kūtrāh. Kūmāshāh and the Castle of Kūmān 175u. Kānān. 175u. K. rāt, 175f. Kānān and Kānā, 175y. Kā. rāt and Kānā, 175u. Yārdi. K. whāt. D. h. M. rāt. Khōrāshāh and Abālah 175f. D. h. M. rāt and Kānān, 175u. Jānān and Khōrāshāh Castle, 175u. Jānān of Abu Ahmad and Samirān Castle, 175y. Fāsh. Shākh Rūbār, and Māhānān, 175u. Nāshāz, 175u. Kānān, 176u. S. ānān C. r. 176u. An'ānān and Bāht Kūh, 176u. B. āl Shāpār 176y. Tū Mānān and Jūkhā 176u. The J. ānān Mountains 176u. J. rāt, 176u. Gūmān Mānān and Fā. h. u. 176y. K. āhāt and Kūmān 177u. Kūlār, 177b. Kūmānān and D. h. M. rāt, 177c. S. ānān, 177u. Sānān and Bānān, 177f. Gūmānān, 177u. Nāshāzānān and Kā. āh Bānān, 177u. S. āb Nānān, 177u. K. āl Khurramāh and Arānān, 177f. Hūmānān 177y. Bāshāh 177u. H. ānān, Khābān and Fūshān, 178d. Jānānān, 178u. Jā. ānān and Hāyānān 178f. Māhānān, 178y. S. ānān, 178f. The Sixteen Castles of Fārs, namely: Kā. āh Isfāndiyār or Isfān Dīz 178y. the Castle of Isfāhār (Persians) 178u. the Castle of Isfāhār Yār, 179u. Abālah 178b. D. ā. ānān or Irag, 179u. Tū or Tabar 179d. Tū Khudā, 179y. Khōrāshāh, 179u. Khurramāh 179f. Khūwānān 179u. Kūtrān and Rānānān, 179u. Bāhānān, 179u. Rānānān, 179y. Kānān, 179y. and Gūmān Mānānān 179u. The Pasture lands called Marghār,

namely Āvard or Ūrd 179a, Dašt Rūn, 179a, Dašt Arzan, 179a, Sikkān, 180d, Bāz or Bahmān, 180e, Bud Mashkān, 180d, Baydā and Shillān, 180e, Kāī, 180e, Kālān, 180e, Kānīfūz, 180e, Karmīn, 180e, and Narkā, 180e. The Islands of the Persian Gulf, namely, Kays, 180e, Abzan, 181d, Ābarkumān, 181e; and Khārik, 181f.

In the time of the Īl-Khān dynasty Fārs had come to be a much smaller province than it had been during the Caliphate, and as described by the Arab geographers. In the pages of Hamid-Allah Fārs has lost the whole of the Yazd district on the north east, this under the Mongols being given to Persian 'Irāk; while the eastern districts round Dārābīrd, having taken the name of Shabānkārah, had been formed into a separate province, which under this title will be noticed in the following chapter. A long and interesting account is given by Hamid-Allah of Shirāz, the capital of the Fārs province since the Moslem conquest; the nine gates in its walls are enumerated, and its various mosques and shrines are described in some detail. Hamid-Allah notes further that the territory immediately adjacent to the city was called its Hūmah (often written *Jūmah* or *Jowmah*), a word that may be translated 'domain.' Two leagues distant from Shirāz was the mountain called Kūh-i-Dārak, on which the winter snow was stored in pits for use in the hot weather (L. 203y), while three farsakhs to the south of Shirāz was a castle known as Kalah-i-Tis (other readings in the MSS give Dir, Tabr, Tīr, Tasīr, etc.), which crowned a solitary hill, on the summit of which was a spring of water (L. 174d). Also in the Shirāz district was the Castle of Khuvār (L. 170a), and this place is mentioned by Istakhri (p. 104) as a small town of the Ardashīr Khurrah district. Yāqūt (i. 190, ii. 480), who cop. on the account, adds no particulars, and evidently cannot give more exactly the position. Shirāz has no river, but its waters drain eastward to the salt lake of Mūhalūyāh (L. 220c), which is some twelve leagues in circuit, and lies in the plain a few miles from the city on the left hand of the road to Sarvestān.

The shores of the lake were used for salt-pana, and much salt was exported from Shirāz to outlying places.

The sea coast districts of Fārs, known as the *A māl i-Sif*, were divided between the Sif—'Coast'—of the Banī Zuhayr and the Sif of 'Umārah. The positions of these districts are given by Istakhrī pp. 140, 141, and by Yāqūt i, 217), the former region lying near Širāf and the latter near the Kirmān border, over against the Island of Kays. The Buskanat district, according to the *Fārs Nāmah* (f. 86a), lay twelve leagues from Qhandjān towards Najrām. Tawwaj, often spelt Tawwax [1], had been a celebrated commercial town in early days, but when Mustawfī wrote it was already in ruins. Apparently no traces of it now exist, it stood, however, near the lower course of the Šāpūr river, called the Tawwaj Āb, and according to Istakhrī (pp. 128, 133) lay about half way between Kusrūn and Jannabah [40].

Khabr [2], somewhat over fifty miles south east of Širāz, exists, and was famous for its castle, called Ka'ah Tīr i-Khudā 'God's Arrow' (L. 179). The region of Kharzin (which some MSS. give as Khavria or Kha'ūhar) I am not able to identify, the districts of Ramzavān and Dādhiā lay south of Jirrah. Dāvan plain, according to the *Fārs Nāmah* (f. 73b), lay six leagues north of Mavin [17]. Khannayfiān [3], which was commonly called Khanū'gūn, was to the north of Firūzābād at the source of the Burzāh river. Sarvīstān is near the eastern end of the Mūhalūyah Lake; but Kuhjan (or Koban, in the *Fārs Nāmah*, has apparently disappeared from the map. Of Širāf, the celebrated port on the Persian Gulf, the ruins still exist, and have been described by Captain Stiffe (J. R. G. S., 1895, p. 166, and according to Istakhrī (p. 34) Najrām lay to the northward of it, Khūreshī (or Khūrahi) being of its dependences.

Šmān [4] lies to the east of Firūzābād (cf. Stack, *Six Months in Persia*, ii, 232, and Hirak was a large village near by. Of Firūzābād, anciently called Jur the chief town of the district of the same name, Hamid-Allah gives a long account, mentioning also its castle (L. 178a), called Kal'ah Shabārah, which crowned a height four leagues

from the city. The Firūzābūd river was called the Āb-i-Burūzah¹ (L. 219*g*), a right bank affluent of the Āb-i-Zakān (L. 214*s*), which last is by far the most important stream in this part of Persia. The Zakān (or Zākān; the MS. of the *Fiṣṣ Nāmāh* always spells the name *Takān*) is named by Istakhrī (p. 120) and other Arab geographers the Nahr Sakkan, and is the present Kūra Aghāch, which rises at some distance to the north west of Shirāz. It flows into the sea a little to the south of Najrām, and in its lower course is now known as the Mand river. The town of Kavār [5] is near its left bank (half-way between Shirāz and Khabr already mentioned), and after passing Simkān, not far from its right bank are the towns of Kīr, Kurān [6], and Abzar. Kāriyān [7] lies at some distance to the eastward of these places, and Lāghūr [8] is mentioned by Mr. Beck (ii, 233, also by Mustawfī in his *Itineraries* (Route xxviii).

Kūrsin had a celebrated castle (L. 179*g*) on a hill overhanging the river bank. Kahrjan or Makarjan apparently lay near Lāghūr, and about half-way between this last and Sirāf, on the coast, was the town of Kurān [9] in the Irābustān District, lying adjacent to the Zubayr coast, mentioned in a previous paragraph and described by Istakhrī (pp. 106, 141, 454). The region of Mandatān was on the coast, and probably the name is connected with the present Mand river, as the lower part of the Karā Aghāch (Āb-i-Zakān) is called. Mīmand [10] is the chief town of the Nāband district on the coast, to the east of Sirāf, as mentioned by Istakhrī (p. 104), but I am unable to identify Hūnū or Hamjān Kabrīn; many MSS. gave Harmūd and Hamjān Kīrtan, and the readings are more than doubtful. The port of Huzū was opposite the Island of Kays; this is the last stage in the Itinerary (Route xxviii) from Shirāz to the coast; and Tāneh (or Tūbah) was a village near.

¹ This is the spelling of the *Fiṣṣ Nāmāh* (f. 70*b*), who says it was so named after the great eng. near Hakīm Burāzah of the days of King Ardashir. The MSS. generally gave the name as Burāzah.

The city [11] of Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis) had been the capital of Fārs before the Moslem conquest. It lay on the banks of the Parvūb or Pulvūr river (L. 218r), a left bank affluent of the Kur. In the neighbourhood of Persepolis was a cave in the mountain called Kub-i-Nāsiṭ (or Na'isit), where there were famous sculptures (L. 200v). Iṣṭakhr was celebrated for its three great castles, called the Sib-Gumbadhān—'Three Domes'—which crown the hill-tops to the north of the Marvdasht plain. These were known as the Kal'ah Iṣṭakhr, the Kal'ah Shikastah—'the Broken Castle'—and the Kal'ah Shinkavān (L. 178a). Further, there was the Kal'ah Iṣṭakhr Yār, or Bār, probably on the hill above Persepolis (L. 179a), where ruins still exist. The remains of the three castles on the hill-tops to the westward, which were famous for their great cisterns, have some of them been visited and described by Morier (*Second Journey in Persia*, pp. 83, 86) and De Bode (*Luristan*, i, 117). Abraj, as the name is spelt in the *Fārs Namah*, often incorrectly written Īraj, appears from Iṣṭakhrī (p. 102) to have been near Mayin [17], and it stood at the base of a hill, on which was a strong castle called Dīz Abraj or Īraj (L. 179c). Abarkūh¹ is the well-known town on the frontier of Fārs [12] towards Yazd, and near it was Farāghah (written Maraghah in some MSS, also in the *Jihān Nūmah*, p. 266), which was celebrated for its cypresses. Uẓjān, or Ujān, lies north of Māyin. Not, however, to be found on the map are Isfandān (or Isfidān) and Kūmistan (or Kūhistān), these being all copied into the *Jihān Nūmah* (p. 266), and near Kūmistan in

¹ According to Hamd Allāh (L. 174v) Abarkūh was remarkable for the fact that no Jew could survive for more than forty days who acted here. Hence these people were not found among the population of the town. Further at Abarkūh stood the tomb of the celebrated saint surnamed Tāūs-al-Haramayn—'Peacock of the Two Sanctuaries,' viz. Mecca and Medina—and it was a known fact that his shrine would never suffer itself to be covered by a roof. However often a roof was erected over the tomb, it was instantly destroyed by a supernatural power, lest the saint's bones should become the object of an idolatrous worship. The same phenomenon is said by Ibn Latūf (ii, 113) to be characteristic of the shrine of Ibn Hushayr at Baghdad, and Professor Goldziher has some interesting remarks on this subject in his *Monismen und Monotheismus* (i, 257).

the mountain there was a mighty cave. Iklid [13] and Surmak [14] lie to the south west of Abarkūh. Bavvān (with variants Tavna or Tūmān) and Marust (possibly Marvdaht) were two villages in the great Persepolis plain, which itself bore the latter name; in the upper, western, part of the Marvdaht plain lay the city of Daydā [15], celebrated for its pasture-lands.

The town of Abādāb stood on the northern side of Lake Bakhtigān, and there was a celebrated castle here (L. 179a). This town is frequently mentioned by Istakhrī (p. 131) and other Arab geographers; it was also known as the village of 'Abd-ar-Rahmān. Hufrah is the district near the junction of the Pulvār river with the Kur, and Harir was near Lake Bakhtigān. Sabavār and Kālī (or Fālī) appear to have been famous meadow-lands or Marghzār near the Pulvār river (L. 1804). Kharramah [16], also celebrated for its castle (L. 179b), is a town to the east of Shirūz near the Bakhtigān Lake at the place where the river Kur flows in. Rāmjird is the district higher up the river Kur—above the plain of Marvdaht—and Māyin [17] is the capital town of Rāmjird.

These districts were all watered by the Kur, of which Mustawfī gives a long account (L. 216a). This river rose above Kallar [22], was joined on its right bank by a stream from Shā'b Bavvān, and lower down on the left bank near Persepolis by the Āb-i-Parvāb or Pulvār river (L. 218r). In its lower reaches the Kur river was crossed by a number of weirs, each serving to raise a head of water for irrigation purposes. The first dam or weir was that called the Band-i-Majrād, an ancient foundation, which was repaired under the Seljuks by their Atabeg, or Governor, in Fūra, the celebrated Fakhr-ad-Dawlah Chāhī (spelt Jāhī by Ibn al-Athīr, x, 202), who then gave it the name of Fakhrīstān. Below this was the 'Ajūdī or Band-i-Amīr (*Bondemir* of the poet Moore, in *Leilla Rookh*), built by 'Ajūd-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, and marked in the Itineraries (Route xxxii), this served to raise the waters for irrigating the two districts of Upper and Lower Kūrbal. The lowest of the dams was the

Fuller's Weir—Band-i-Kassar—at no great distance above the point where the Kur flowed out to the Lake of Bakhtigān. This was the largest of the salt lakes of Fārs, and when Mustawfī wrote was surrounded by populous districts and towns, among which occur the names of Harir, Abādah, Khayrah, Nayriz, and Sūnk (L. 225g). The north-western part of the lake was known as the Balayrah Rāsaflūyah (L. 220c), and it was celebrated for its fish. Sūlak (or Qūh k) and Harūt [19] lay at some distance from the eastern borders of the Bakhtigān Lake, and Kūtruh [20] is to the south-east.

The most northern town of Fārs towards Isfahān is Kūmrāh, protected by the Castle of Kulanjān. The district of Kūm Firuz lay on the banks of the Kur river (south of Rāmjird), being celebrated for its lion-haunted forests; and the two districts of Kirbul, as already said, were on the lower reaches of the same river near the Fuller's Weir (Band-i-Kassar). Kamio [21] lies north of Istakhr, near the Pulvar river, and Kūrin was a town near it. Kallar and Kūrad [22] were on the upper waters of the Kur river, and their positions are fixed by Mukaddasī (p. 458) in his Itinerary, being five farsakhs north of Rām-Firūz. Yazdikhwāst [23] and D.h Girdū [24] lie on the road to Isfahān, and in this connection Abūdah [25] (which still exists, and is not to be confounded with the town of the same name on Lake Bakhtigān) is mentioned, lying to the east of D.h Girdū. Shūratūn, according to the *Pers Nāmah*, lay half-way between this northern Abūdah and Yazdikhwāst, while D.h Mord—'Myrtle Village'—called by the Arab geographers Kariyut-al-Ās or Budanjān, stood by the shore of Lake Bakhtigān, half-way between the northern Abūdah and Sūnk. Rādhān, according to Istakhrī (p. 102), lay half-way between Sūlak and Shahr-i-Bābak.

In the south-eastern part of Fārs, the town of Jahram [26] is well known, and was famous in the time of Mustawfī for the strong castle, lying five leagues away on a hill-top, called Kal'ah Khūrashah (L. 179h, Juvaynī [27] of

Abu Ahmad¹ lies south-east of Jahram, and its castle too was famous, being known as the Kal'ah Samirān or Shamirān (L. 179_μ). The city of Fasi lies north of Jahram, on the border of Shabānkārah, Shaḡḡ Rūdbār and Miṣhūnān (or Piṣhkānūt in some MSS.) were of its dependences, and the castle called Kal'ah Khavdan (L. 179_m) was a strong place in the neighbouring district.

Kāzarūn lies west of Shiraz, on the road down to the sea. Mustawfī gives a long account of the place, which had originally consisted of three towns. In the plain to the east of Kāzarūn is the lake which Mustawfī calls the Buḡayrah Mawz, but the reading of the name is doubtful, both in the *Nuṣṣat* MSS. and in the text of Ibn Hawkal (p. 193), from whom, apparently, he has taken the name of the lake. The ruins of the old city of Shāpūr [28] are to be seen at some distance west of Kāzarūn, and have been described by De Bode (*Luristan*, i, 214) and others. Shāpūr city appears originally to have been known as Bishavūr (for Bih-Nībūr, Mustawfī gives a long account of the place, and further describes the colossal statue of King Shapur, which may still be seen in the neighbouring cave. Anburan was a small town near Nawbanjūn [29], and Būst Kūṭā (some MSS. give Mūst Fūṭā) a district in the mountains near, the whole of this neighbourhood being known under the name of Būd Shāpūr, or the Shāpūr Country. Tir Murdān [30] was an important place mentioned by Yāqūt (i, 905), and it lay, according to 'Alī of Yazd (i, 607), beyond the Valley of Bavvān and west of Harkun, which is mentioned in the Itinerary (Route xxxi.), the place called Jībūkān (or Khūbigān) and other districts were in its neighbourhood.

The mountain region called Jabal Jilūyah was on the Luristān border, and the name is probably connected with

¹ So named to distinguish it from Juraym [25] one stage to the north-west of Shiraz (see Route xxx). This had at sometimes (incorrectly) written Juraym, and in this case must not be confounded either with the city of Juraym in Sistan to the north of Zaranj, see Route xxxi. or with the Juraym district of Khurasan (see Chapter 17) lying between Juraym and Sabavar.

the Kurduh Zamm, or tribe, of Jilūyah mentioned by Iṣṭakhri (pp. 98, 113). Mustawfi elsewhere (L. 206g) speaks of the mountains called Kūh Gilūyah, and apparently a neighbouring range was the Kūh Kūshid lying between Fars and Irāk, where of old had lived a dragon slain by King Kay Khusrū, who then built here the Fire-temple afterwards known as Dayr Kūshid (L. 208a). Probably of this district also was the mountain of Kūh Mūrjān (or Mūrkhān), in which was a cave, with dropping water, that was considered a talisman (L. 206f).

The Āb-i-Ratān, which rose in the district of Khumāyījān, was an upper affluent of the Shāpūr or Bishāpur river, the lower part of which was called the Āb-i-Tavvaj, where it passed the city of Tavvaj, or Tawwaz [1], before falling into the Persian Gulf (L. 219a, f). The Shāpūr river, up in the mountains, was joined on its left bank by the Āb-i-Jirrah, which, flowing down from the Māsaram and Ghundjān districts, passes the city of Jirrah [31], which is some miles south-east of Kāzīrūn. Before its junction with the Shāpūr river, the Jirrah river received from the south the combined waters of the Āb-i-Jarshik and the Ikshhin river, the last being famous for its stone bridge called the Kanṭarah Sabuk (L. 219b, d).

Gumbadh Mallaghān [32] lay about half-way between Nawbanjān and Arrajān, at the place now called Dū Gumbadān, where there are extensive ruins (De Bode, i, 259). It was famous for its castle, in the district of Pūl Bulū, which "was so strong a ḥarāḥ that a single man could hold it" (L. 179,). Kāshī [33] and Kīmūrj [34] lie on the road down from Sulrāz to the coast, and not far from the banks of the Shāpūr river. Khullūr [35], celebrated for its mill-stones, lies about half-way between Nawbanjān and Sulrāz, Khumāyījān, with Dīh 'A I, being a district to the westward of Khullūr. To the north, on the Lur frontier, came the districts of Sīshat (or Salhat in some MSS.), also Būzrank and Sarām, which last Yāqūt (i 45) gives as Charam. Ghundjān, generally called Daht Lūrān, was the region in the neighbourhood of Jirrah [31], and here stood the

castle called Kal'ah Dam Darān, or Rām Varān, for the name is variously given in the manuscripts (L. 179n).

Nawbarjīn [29], more commonly called Nawbandagān, had been rebuilt by Atabeg Čaiū I, it was renowned for the great White Castle, and for the neighbouring valley called Shāh Bavvān, always counted as one of the four earthly paradises, such was its fertility and beauty. Istākhz, 'the White Castle,' also called Kalah Isfandiār (L. 178p), after one of the heroes of ancient Persia, lies two leagues distant to the north-east of Nawbarjīn, and occupies the summit of a table-mountain, it is accessible by one road only, being on all sides protected by precipices (Macdonald Kinloch, *Persian Empire*, p. 73). At the foot of the mountain fastness was a second smaller castle called Nisnāk (N. s. kahn in some MSS). Half a century after the time of Mustawfī, Kal'ah Safid (as it was more generally called, became famous for the siege and sack which it suffered at the hands of Timur, as recorded by 'Alī of Yazd in the *Zafar Nāmāh* (i, 600).

The Kūrah or district of Kubūd Khurrah was one of the ancient divisions of Fārs, and according to Istākhrī (p. 125) it was that of which Kūrah [8] was the capital, already mentioned, near the Zākan river, on the eastern border. Arrajūn was the chief town of Fārs on the western side, towards Khūzistān. It is now a complete ruin, being replaced by Bihbahān, which appears to have been founded in the latter half of the fourteenth century A.D., after the time of Mustawfī, but prior to the date when Timur invaded Persia. In the account of his campaigns given in the *Zafar Nāmāh* (i, 600), the city of Bihbahān only is mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd, though its river is called by him the Āb-i-Arghūn, that is to say, the Arrajūn river, as confirmed by the statement of both Yūkūt (i, 183) and Mustawfī, who write that Arrajūn in their day was generally called Arraghān or Arghān. Its ruins lie not far from the bank of the (older) Tūb river, now known as the Jarrābī (see above, Chapter II), which separates Fārs from Khūzistān. At the crossing of the river was the celebrated bridge called

Pūl-i-Tukān, which is described by Istakhrī (p. 134). The ruins of this bridge still exist, also those of a second bridge likewise described by the Arab geographers, and fully noticed in the travels of De Hode (*Laristan*, i, 297), who, it may be remarked, was the first to identify Arrajān.

According to Hamid-Alah there were various castles of the Lamanian sect, known as the Amisajās, in the hills above Arrajān. Such were Kal'ah Tayfūr and Dix Kalūt, the last being one league distant from the town of Rishahr [36], otherwise called Rishīr, which lay to the west of Arrajān. Bāstak [37] was the last stage in Fārs on the Khuzistān frontier, as given in the Itinerary (Route xxxii). Hindjān exists, Habs (also given as Jis or Khabs) and Farsuk were near Arrajān, but the spelling of these names is not sure, and their exact position is uncertain. Jannūba [40], also called Ganbuh, was a celebrated port on the Gulf, the ruins of which still exist, it was originally named Gandab, or 'the back-water,' by the Persians. The river called the Āb-i-Shirīn, which rose in the hills called Kuh-i-Diūr, flowed out to the sea near Mahrubān and is the modern Tāb or Zahrāh river. Near Jannūba was the mouth of the Šitadkūn or Šnāshkan river, which flowed down from the Dasrank hills (this district has been mentioned above) and the region of Kabarkūn (L. 218c, κ). According to Mustawfī, Jallūjān and Hayrudin (many MSS give Hūdvin) were districts near Arrajān, Mahrubān [38] was the port on the Gulf at the frontier of Khūzistān, Sinis [39] being the next port down the coast, eastward, and on the other side of the bay opposite Mahrubān.

The river Kawāndan, or Kāwūdhan (L. 218a,, was an affluent of the Nahr Šarīn, which flows out to the sea near Mahrubān (the modern river Tāb, see above, Chapter II). It rose in the Klūdhan or Khwāndan hills near Nawbarjan [29], and in its lower course watered the district of Jallūjan already mentioned. There is, however, much confusion in the nomenclature of all these rivers of western Fārs, and this goes back to the descriptions of them given by Istakhrī and other of the Arab geographers, whose notices do not

tally with the streams as shown on our present maps. This is especially the case with the river called the Āb-i-Darkhīd (or Darkhuvayd), which flowed out of (some MSS. give it as flowing into) the Darkhīd Lake (L. 2.8y, 226d), which lay to the west of Nawbanjān. It was a large river and not easily fordable, but what stream it corresponds to on our modern maps is not very clear, though it may be that now known as the Āb-i-Shūr.

In regard to the celebrated castles of Fārs Hamd-Allah states that these had numbered over seventy in ancient times, but that most had gone to ruin with the lapse of time, and sixteen only in his day remained standing. All these have been mentioned in previous pages, when speaking of the various towns or districts to which each belonged, and it is needless to recapitulate them here, the list having been given in the table of contents to this chapter.

Hamd-Allah next enumerates the various Marghzārs, the celebrated pastures or meadow-lands of Fārs. That of Āvard (or Urd) was on the road between Isfahan and Shīrāz, near Kushk-i-Zard, two stages south of Yazdajhwāst (see Route xxvii,); and the Marghzar of Dasht-i-Rūn (or Ravān) was one stage south of this again, near the Rubat, or Caravanserai, of Salāh-ad Dīn, whence it extended to the Shahriyar Bridge over the upper course of the Kar river. The Marghzār of Dasht Arsan lay near the lake of that name (L. 226a) on the road between Shīrāz and Kāzvin; it was noted for the lions who haunted its thickets, and the same remark is added to the notice of the Marghzār of Shukān (Ushkān, Arashkān are other readings of the name) in the district of Juvaym of Abu Ahmad; in the neighbourhood of which also was the Marghzār of Bahmān. The Marghzār of Bād and Mashkān appears to have been near Tusar in Klūzistan; that of Baydā was near the town of that name in the Marvdasht plain. No position is given for the Marghzār of Shīdān close to which was 'the Lake of the Marghzār' (L. 226c, but this meadow-land was famous as being one of the four earthly paradises. The Meadows of Kūh (or Fāh or Fūl) were on the banks

of the Pulvār river, where also lay the Marghūr Kālūn near the grave of the Mother of King Solomon, as the Moslems have named the 'Tomb of Cyrus', while further down the Pulvār river were the Kāmīn meadow-lands. The Marghzūr of Kūm Firūz lay along the Kur river, where its thickets were haunted by lions, and lastly, the Marghūr-i-Narkis—'the Narcissus-Meadows'—were between Kazirūn and Jirrah.

The Persian Gulf and its Islands are described by Mustawfī at the end of his chapter on Fārs, and also on a later page (L. 222z) when describing the Seas, further, he gives the distances between the chief islands in his Itinerary (Routes iv and xxvi.). Some confusion, however, exists in the names given during the middle ages to the various islands. The Island of Kuḥrūk still bears this name, and lies some forty miles north west of the modern Busture. On the road to India, and eighty leagues further down the Gulf, came the Island of Alia (otherwise Lān or Alār), which by the distances must be the present Island of Shaykh Shu'ayb. According to Mustawfī and other geographers, between this and Kays came the two islands called Abrūn and Khayn, and the former is probably that now known as the Hindurabi Island.

The great emporium (Dawlat-Khānah) of Kays, as described by Mustawfī, was the most populous island of the Gulf, and lay four leagues from Hazū on the mainland, where the road coming down from Shirūz reached the coast. From Kays the ships sailed for India, and at the narrows of the Gulf came the great island called Abrikamūnān (Abarkumūn in some MSS. or Abarkafan, with many other variants). Yākūt (iv, 342) calls this Laft, or the Island of the Banī Kawān, and its name was spelt in a variety of different ways - but, undoubtedly, what is now known as the Long Island of Kishm (Jazīrah Ṭawīlah) is the place indicated. To the east of this came Hurmuz, which will be mentioned in Chapter 14 on Kirmān; and the island of Hurmuz was called Jirūn where the city of New Hurmuz came to be founded. A neighbouring island,

however, appears already from the earliest times to have borne the name of Urmūa or Urmūz, recalling the name of Hurmuz. It is mentioned by Hamd-Allah (L. 222a) and many of the earlier Arab geographers, as, for instance, Ibn Khurdadbeh (p. 62), but what island this Urmūa now corresponds to is not very clear. The island of Jūsik may, from what Yākut (i, 503) writes, be another name for the great Island of Kishm, and therefore a duplicate name. Besides Jūsik (or Khūsik) Mustawfi mentions (L. 222a) two islands of Kand, Annshūk, and Lāur (in the MSS. given as Lādur or Lawar, and possibly identical with Lān or Lār already given), but these I am unable satisfactorily to identify.

Chapter 13. Shabūkārāh.

Contents: Avīg, 181k, Darkūn, 181m, Ištābannūn, 181n; Bork, Tārum, Khayrah, Nūriz, and Misakūnāt, 181p, Dārūbgard, 181r; Karm and Rūbanz, 181w, Lār, 181x.

What became the province of Shabūkārāh under the Mongols, had formed the eastern part of Fārs in the time of the Caliphate, as already stated in the previous chapter. The name Shabūkārāh does not occur in the earlier geographers, but the district came in Mongol days to be called after the people who inhabited it, the Shabūkārāh being a powerful family settled in these regions during the period of the Saljūk supremacy. They waged successful war against the Saljūk Atabegs—against the Amīr Chādhī, mentioned in the previous chapter, in particular, and finally after the fall of the Saljūks these Shabūkārāh were left masters of the whole western part of Fārs.

Nearly all the towns named by Hamd-Allah as of Shabūkārāh may still be recognized on the present map. The capital of the district was Īg, or Avīg, a strong fortress, with the town of Darkūn [1], or Zarkūn, situated at no great distance from it, both places still existing, and further,

being mentioned by the earlier authorities. *Iṣṭabānān* [2], which the Arab geographers write variously as *Iṣṭabānat*, *Iṣṭahānat*, and *Iṣṭabādānāt*, is now called *Savanat*, lying a short distance north-west of *Īg*, *Niriz* [3] lies to the east of it, and *Klayrah* [4] between *Savanat* and the shore of *Lake Bakhtigān* (see *Route xxi*), which, in its south-eastern bay, forms the northern frontier of the *Shabankarah* district, and is often called the *Lake of Niriz*. *Bark* represents the town the name of which is now generally pronounced *Forḡ*, and which the Arab geographers wrote *Farḡ*. There is, however, the evidence of *Mukaddasī* p. 428, that of old there were here two neighbouring towns, called *Farḡ* and *Bark*, and the latter site is now probably represented by the *Castle of Bahram*, described by Mr. Stuck (*Six Months*, i, 156). *Tīram* [5] lies on the frontier to the east of *Forḡ*, the *Mīstakanat* (or *Māskīnat*) district being on the road between *Kūayrah* and *Niriz*.

Dārūbgird had been the chief town of eastern *Fārs* in earlier days; there was near this in the hills a famous pass, called *Tang-i-Zīnah*, commanded by a strong castle. The mountains of *Dārūbgird* (L. 204f) were celebrated for the salt, of seven diverse colours, that was dug out of the mines here, and in the southern part of the country was the mountain called *Kūh-i-Kutak*, "three leagues in height, like a snow-covered dome," where great serpents abounded (L. 204f). The towns of *Kūm* [6] and *Rūbanz* (generally spelt *Rūniz*, in error, in the MSS., lay on the road towards *Faṣū*; the first still exists, and *Rūbanz* or *Rubanz* was the chief town of the *Khasū* district mentioned by *Mukaddasī* (p. 423), the town of *Khasū*, now to be found on the map, being identical in all probability with the older *Rubanz* city. *Lār*, which is not mentioned by the older Arab geographers, appears to have been a foundation of the *Sabbākarah*. *Mustawfī* speaks of it merely as a district (*Vilāyat*), but his contemporary, *Ibn Batūṭah* (ii, 240), speaks of "the great city of *Lār*," celebrated for its five markets, and *Hamd-Aḥen* adds in his account that the people of *Lār* were mostly merchants who occupied themselves with sea voyages.

Chapter 14. Kirmān.

Contents. Guwāshir or Bardasir, 182a, Bam, 182j, Jiruft, 182f, Khabiz, 182n, Rīgān, 182e, Sirjān, 182p, Shahr-i-Bābak, 182g, Narmāshir, 182r, Old and New Hormuz, 182d.

The medieval Guwāshir or Bardasir, as has been shown in a previous paper (J R.A.S. for April, 1901, p. 284), represents the present city of Kirmān. Mustawfī quotes (in Arabic) an anecdote having reference to the first Moslem conquest of Kirmān, when its inhospitable climate was reported on to [Illegible], the Viceroy of Irak, by the Arab commander. The text is, of course, most unintelligibly transcribed in the Bombay lithographed edition and in most of the MSS., it will be found, however, given in full by Mas'ūdī in his *Moslems of Gold* (v, 341). Among other matters Mustawfī speaks of the Old Mosque in Guwāshir, dating from the time of the Omayyad Caliph Omar II; he also refers to the celebrated garden called the Būgh-i-Sirjān laid out by the Amir 'Alī Luyās, who had removed the capital of the province from Sirjān to Guwāshir, and who also built the great Castle of the Hill. Further, within the city was also the mosque known as the Jāmi'-i-Tabrizi, founded by Tūrān Shah the Saljūk, this being that used for the Friday Prayer when Mustawfī wrote.

The town of Bam is on the eastern borders of Kirmān; Jiruft, of which the ruins exist at the present Shahr-i-Dakyanus (see J.R.G.S., 1855, p. 47), lying some distance to the south-west of it, being built on the river called the Div-rūd 'Demon-stream'—from its violent course (I. 210c), the stream now known as the Khabiz-rūd. Khabiz lies east of Kirmān city near the desert border, and Rīgān or Rikān is south-east of Bam. Sirjān, as I have shown in my paper above referred to, must probably be sought for at the ruins near Faridān. Sirjān had been the older capital of the Kirmān province, but in the time of Mustawfī, though merely a provincial town, Sirjān was still an important place.

with a strong castle, and it only fell to ruin after the days of Timur. Sanhr-i-Bāzok still exists, in the north-western angle of the Kirmān province; while Narmashīr stands on the desert border on the other side, south east, towards Makrān.¹

On the south coast of Kirmān lay the port of Hurmuz on the mainland (at the site now marked *Munao* on the map), but this place, as Mustawfi records, had already been abandoned in his day. The King of Hurmuz, Fakhr-ad-Dīn—or Kutb-ad-Dīn, as some MSS. give the name, so living in the Ibn Baṭṭah (ii, 230)—had migrated with his people on account of the attacks of brigands, and had established his capital for greater safety on the Island of Jirūn, one league distant from the shore (the present Ormuz Island).² This transfer of the capital would appear to have taken place in the year 715 (A.D. 1315), though nearly a century later, in the time of Timur, Old Hurmuz, according to 'Ain of Yazd, *Zafar Nāmah*, i, 789, 809), was still an important city. There were mountains in Kirmān (L. 206*b*) where, says Mustawfi, a stone capable of being burnt for firewood existed (doubtless lignite), and this was used for fuel in those parts. To the north-east of Hurmuz on the Baluch frontier were the mountains called the Kūh-i-Kāf, which are frequently mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers; also in Kirmān was the range named Kūh-i-kūrin, which are the mountains more properly called Jabal Bariz by the older geographers, but which Yāqūt (iv, 148, had already misnamed, being doubtless the authority used by Mustawfi (L. 205*r*, 206*s*, and cf. *Iṣṭakhri*, p. 163, note *d*).

¹ The Bombay lithograph gives *Mashiz* for Narmashīr but the latter reading is that of all the best MSS. and agrees with the statement that it was a town founded by Ardashīr Babagān, or Māshiz as a modern place.

² The history of Hurmuz is obscure: the best account of its rulers that I have met with will be found in the *Afshār-i-As-Suud*, an historical work written about the year 743 A.D. 1343. Of this work our Society possessed a MS., and another copy A.M. 18.6.60 will be found in the British Museum Library. Dates are unfortunately very generally omitted in the *Afshār-i-As-Suud* but it gives an account of the Kings of Hurmuz, as also of the Atabeg Chānd and others, who ruled in Fars before the advent of the Anukhrī Atabegs, hence it is a valuable authority. For the present state of Hurmuz see the papers by Captain Stille in the *Geographisches Magazine* for 1884, vol. 1, p. 12, and the J.R.G.S., 1894, p. 100.

Chapter 15. The Desert.

Contents: Jarmak, 1834; Sanj and the two cities of Tabas, 1832, Kuhlman, 1834; Nih, 1832.

The great salt desert of central Irān, which is now generally known as the Kavir (a name of uncertain etymology), is always referred to by Mustawfī by its Arabic name, Maḥṣah, meaning 'the wilderness.' He describes it as extending from the village of Sanglūn—which the Mughals called Āk Khwān, lying a little south of Qazvin—right across Persia in a south-easterly direction, and reaching nearly down to the sea of 'Omān at Hurmuz. The south-western limit of the desert was marked by the towns of Sāvab, Kam, Kūstān, Zavārah, Nāy n, Yazd, and thence along the Kirmān and Makrān border to the mountains above the coast. The north-eastern limit of the desert went by Ray along the borders of Kūmis and part of Khurāsān, then by Kūhistan and Zāvil down to Sīstān, and thence to the neighbourhood of Hurmuz.

In the middle of the Great Desert, half-way across on the road going from Nishāpūr to Isfahān, lay the three villages of Jarmak in an oasis where there were water springs. This oasis, the position of which is fixed by the Arab Itineraries, was visited in 1875 by Colonel Macgregor (*Khurāsān*, i, 91), its chief village is now called Khur, and the district is Bīḡānāk—'Little waterless place'—by which name it was already known in the seventeenth century, being mentioned by Tavernier in his *Travels* (*Voyages*, i, 709, La Haye, 1718). The position of Sanj is also fixed by the Arab Itineraries, it was on the Kirmān frontier, half way between Narmāshīr and Zaranj. While there is no doubt about the position, there is some about the name, which in many MSS. of the Arab geographers may be read Safid or Isfand in place of Sanj (cf. Istakhrī, p. 22^a, note r), and the MSS. of the *Nuzhat* confirm the doubtful reading.

Tabas, on the Sistān border, will be mentioned in the following chapter, Kalbūnān (the Cobinan of Marco Polo) is on the Kirman side, and has been visited by Mr. Stack (*Six Months in Persia*, i, 231). Lastly, of the towns mentioned Nih is in Sistān, as marked on the map. On the extreme north-western border of the Great Desert, not far from the high road going down from Ray to Kūm, lay the mountains called Kūh-i-Kargas—'the Vulture Hills'—and according to Mustawfi (L. 206c) their recesses were the chosen home of the Ibex (*Wātī*). The Vulture Hills are doubtless the present Siyāh-Kuh—'the Black Hills'—overlooking the Kavir, some distance to the east of Kūm.

Chapter 18. Sistān or Nimrūz, and Kūhistān.

Contents Zaranj, 183g; Turshiz, 183m; Kishmar, 183o, Tūn, 183s, Buḡatūn and Junābūd, 183x; Dasht-Biyād and Fāris, 184b; Bajund, 184c; Kīlūf, 184e; Sūkhus or Shakhūn, 184f; Zirkūh, 184g; Tabas Masūnū, 184h; Tabas Kilakī, 184m; Kāyūn, 184p, Kal'ah Darah, 184n, Mumtāzābād, 184u, Zāvil, 184w, Firūzkūh, 184x, Ghezuwayn, 184y; Tarmashah, 185b; Maymanah, 185c; Karnayn, 185d.

Sistān, by the Arabs written *Sijistān*, was of old called *Nimrūz*, meaning 'Midday,' a name said to have been given to the province in regard to its position south of Khurāsān. *Kūhistān*—'the Mountain-land'—was the north-western part of this country, and in older times it was more often included in the Khurāsān government.

Zaranj, the capital, also known as *Sistan* city, was a great place in the middle ages. It was completely destroyed by Timur half a century after the time of Mustawfi, and the extensive ruins of the old town, the name of Zaranj having long since been forgotten, lie some miles to the north-east of Nāsrabād (or *Nasratābad*), the modern capital of Sistān, near the hamlets of Pishāversn and Nad 'Alī. The city of Zaranj lay along the bank of the Siyāh-rūd—'the Black Canal'—a branch from the Helmund river. The

Āb-i Hirmand, as Mustawfī spells the name (L. 216a), rises in the mountains of Ghūr, and after passing the fortress of Bust curves round northward to the city of Zaranj, flowing out finally into the Zarruh Lake from the eastward by many mouths and canals. From the north the Zarruh Lake received the water of the Āb-i-Farah, the river which passed the town of Farah, and which like the Helmand also rose in the mountains of Ghūr, in what is now north-western Afghanistan (L. 3.0f, 226p).

Tarshiz was the chief city of the Kuhistan province, and near it was the village of Kishmar,¹ famous for the great cypress-trees planted by Zoroaster, as related by Firdūsī in the *Shah Nāmāh* (Tarnor-Macan, iv, 1067). Near Tarshiz were four famous castles called Kal'ah Bardarud, Kal'ah Mikāi (or Haykāl), Majahdabad, and Ātishgūh ('the Fire-temple'). No town called Tarshiz exists, but a district now bears this name, and from the Itineraries given by Isakhrī (p. 254) and others Tarshiz, anciently called Tārthith, or Turaythith, lay one day's march westward of Kandur. Hence the ruins of the city are probably those seen at Firizābād, near the village of 'Abdulabād; and in any case Tarshiz cannot be Sultānābād, the modern capital of the Tarshiz district, for this lies east of Kandur.

Tūn is still one of the chief towns of Kuhistān, and according to Mustawfī was originally laid out on a Chinese plan, whatever that may signify. Bajistān [1], of which Yāqūt (i, 497) also speaks, lies due north of Tūn, it is to be noted, however, that in the *Jahān Nūmā* (p. 326) and many of the *Nūmāt* MSS. this name is given as Tanjah, but probably in error. Junūbād [2], generally called Gunāwūd, and which the Arab geographers write Yunūbidh, lies north-east of Tūn, it was famous for its two castles, called Kal'ah Khwāshir and Darjan (or Darkhan). In the neighbourhood were the mountains called Kūh-i-Gunāwūd and Kūh-i-Zibad, which are said to be mentioned by Firdūsī (L. 206n). The district of Dasht-i-Riyād lies south of Gunāwūd and

¹ In *Kashān* (ii, 299) printed *Kishm* by mistake but right in *Yāqūt* (iv, 278).

east of Tūn, its chief town was Fāris [3], now generally called Kal'ah Kubnah, or 'the Old Castle.' Birjand [4] lies at some distance to the south-east of Tūn, and to the west of Birjand is Khūst [5], a name which the Arab geographers write Khawst; the position of Sakhs (Shāhin, Sāhin, and Shakhin are manuscript variants) appears to be unknown. Zirkūh—'the Foot-hills'—is the name of a district marked on the map as lying to the eastward of Kūyin; Mustawfī states that it had three towns, namely, Isfadan [6], Istind [7], and Sharakhs [8], all of which may still be found on the map.

During the middle ages there were two cities called Ṭabas, namely, Ṭabas Kilaki [9], which in the Arab geographers is given as Ṭabas-at Tamr—'Ṭabas of the Date'—and Ṭabas Masīnān [10], formerly known as Ṭabas-al-'Unnāb—'Ṭabas of the Jujube-tree.' From the distances given in the Arab Itineraries it would appear that Ṭabas Kilaki (or Gilaki) is the place still marked in our maps as Ṭabas, which lies on the desert border, and this agrees with what is said of the limits of the Mafūzah, or Great Desert, in the previous chapter. The position of Ṭabas Masīnān cannot be exactly fixed, but the evidence of Ibn Hawkal (p. 335) and the other Itineraries would place it about half-way between Tūn and the other (the present) Ṭabas, which last is often named Ṭabasayn. The city of Kāyin lies east of Tūn, and was noted as the central point of Kūhistan; the Castle of Darah [11] is south-east of Birjand, and Muminābad is the name of the mountainous district to the east of Birjand.

In regard to Zāvil, Mustawfī gives this as the name of a town with its surrounding district, and in the previous chapter he has mentioned Zāvil as lying on the north-western border of the great desert. The name does not occur in Yākūt or any of the earlier Arab geographers, but Monsieur B. de Meynard, in a note to his *Dictionnaire de la Perse* (p. 35), quoting the author of the *Mubārak Shāhi*, states that Zāvil was a district near Asfuzār (Sabsivār of Herat), and that it was watered by eighty streams on which stood water-mills. Flūkūh—'Turquoise Mountain'—is

probably the ancient capital of Ghūr, which will be noticed in the next chapter, the exact position of which, in what is now north-western Afghanistan, is unknown. Ghaznayn, otherwise Ghaznah, needs no comment, but I am unable to identify the place written Tarmashah (Turth, Turmast, etc., are variants given in the MSS.); possibly it is merely a mistake for, and duplicate of, Turahiz. Maymanah, which the Arab geographers called Ya'ūdīyah — 'Jew-town' — lies east of Balū Marglūb, in the north-west of modern Afghanistan, and the city of Karmayn, celebrated as the birthplace of Layth, the founder of the Saffarids, lies in the desert one march to the north of Khush on the river Helmund, according to the distances given by Ibn Hawkal (p. 306).

Chapter 17. *Khurāsān.*

Contents: Nishāpūr, 185m; Shādyākh, 185m; Isfarāyīn, 186g; Bayhaq and Sahrivār, 186f, Bīyār, 186m, Juwayn, 186o, Jājam, 186e, Khabūshūn, 186w; Shakkān, 186w, Tūs, 186s; Kalāt and Jirm, 187e, Martān, 187f; Herāt, 187ā; Asfuzār, 187e; Fūshanj, 187f, Māla and Bākharz, 187e; Bādghīs, 187s, Jām, 188e; Chast, 188g, Khwāf, 188y; Zūwāb, 188m; Ghūr, Balkh, Tukhārastān, Bāmīyān, and Panjshir, 188o; Jūzjān, 188f; Khutlān, 188w, Saminjūn, 188w; Tāyikān, 188x, Tāhikān, 189a; Fāryāb and Kāwāryān, 189b; Kāuf, 189d, Marv Shāh-jān, 189f, Shahrjūn, 189g and 190b; Abivard, 189a, Khavārān, 189f; Khāvārdān, 189w, Sarakhe, 189a, Marv or Rūd, 190b; Māraz, 190s, Kal'ah Māy, 190f.

Khurāsān in the middle ages was far more extensive than is the province of this name in modern Persia. Medieval Khurāsān extended on the north-east to the Oxus, and included all the districts round Herat which now belong to Afghanistan. On the other hand, the small province of Kūmis, on the northern boundary of the Great Desert, which at the present day is included within the limits of Persian Khurāsān, was of old a separate district, and formed in the time of Mustawfī a province apart.

Hamd-Allah divides Khurāsān into four quarters (*Rub'*).

or districts; namely, Nishāpūr, Herāt, Balkh, and Great Marv. Of Nishāpūr city he gives a full account, describing its plan, which had originally been laid out after the fashion of a chess-board, and noting its walls and watercourses. The Arabs had written the name Naysūbūr. Mustawfī devotes a paragraph to the great suburb of Shadyākh, which Yūkut (iii, 228) from his personal knowledge has also described. This had been built, or rebuilt, after the great earthquake of the year 605 (A.D. 1208) which had laid Nishāpūr in ruins; but both suburb and city were again destroyed by the earthquake of 679 (A.D. 1280), and a third city of Nishāpūr was the capital of Khurāsān when Mustawfī wrote. In regard to Shadyākh its ruins still exist some three miles to the east of the modern city (Yate, *Khurāsān*, p. 412).

Nishāpūr had its chief water supply from a stream that flowed down from the mountains to the north-east of the town; and forty water-mills were turned by the stream in the two leagues of its course through the plain after leaving the hills. Five leagues distant from the city, on the watershed of the range dividing Nishāpūr from the Mashhad valley, was a small lake, about one league round, called Buhayrah Chashmah Sabz—'the Lake of the Green Spring'—recently visited and described by Colonel Yate (*Khurāsān*, p. 353), from which Mustawfī reports that water flowed either way, east and west. Here the Amir Chūpān had built a kiosk on the brink of the spring, of which many wonders are told, and spectres were seen rising from the waters at certain seasons; further, the lake was said to be unfathomable (L. 226f.). A great number of streams flowed down from this mountain range to the plain of Nishāpūr, chief among these being the Shūrah-rūd or Salt River, into which at flood times most of the lesser streams ultimately drained, coming from the various sides of the plain. Mustawfī (in part copied by the *Jildā Numā*, p. 328) mentions the names of a great number of these, to wit, the Dīsbād river, flowing to the village of this name on the Herāt road, the Āb-i-Sāhr (or Sakhtar), the Khayrūd or Āb-i-Kharū, the

Tūsankān or Tūshkūn rūd, the Āb-i-Pasht-i Farūsh, the Khajank river, the Āb-i-Farkhak, the Āb-i-Dahr, and the Āb-i-'Atshābād — 'Tarset River' — coming down by the Maydūn-i-Suljān, but of which the water-supply so often failed as fully to deserve its evil name (L. 2197 to 2206).

The town of Isfarāyīn [1] in the centre of the plain of this name, at the ruins known as Shahr-i-Bakka, recently described by Colonel Yate (*Khurāsān*, p. 378), was celebrated for its castle called Diz-Zar, 'the Golden fort.' Buylak was the capital of the great district of the same name lying south of Isfarāyīn, and its ruins lie close to Sabzavār [2], which is the present chief town of this district. Biyār [3] lies on the border of the Great Desert, and is marked as Biyar-Jumand on our maps. Juwayn is the name of the plain south and west of Isfarāyīn (see Route x); its chief town is Farīyumad, and Mustawfī mentions the hamlets of Būhābad, Dav, Kazrī, and Khudashah [4]. The city of Jūjarm is at the western limit of the Juwayn plain on the river Jaghūn-rūd (L. 220e); in its neighbourhood is the mountain known as Kūh-i-Shukak (Sakau, Si'an, etc., are other readings of the MSS.), whence a stream flowed forth from a marvellous cave (L. 205m).

Khabūshān, now known as Kuchān, is in the Mashhad valley to the east of Juwayn; the city had been rebuilt by Hūlāgū, and the surrounding district was known as that of Utawū. The town of Shakkūn (or Shafān) I am unable to identify. Tūs, one of the ancient capitals of Khurāsān, is now a complete ruin; it lies four leagues distance to the north-west of the shrine at Mashhad [5], which last is the modern capital of Khurāsān and means 'the Place of Martyrdom,' originally called the village of Surābūd. There he buried at Mashhad the Imām Rūfī and the Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashid, with many other famous personages, their tombs being surrounded by what in the time of Mustawfī had already come to be a large city. In the mountain called Kuh Gulshān near Tūs was a great cavern with a spring welling from its depths, of which many wonders are related (L. 206m, and see Yate, *Khurāsān*, p. 351). The

great mountain fastness of Kīlūt,¹ with Jirm for its chief city, lies to the north of Mashhad, and is now generally known as Kāt-i-Nadīrī, from the fact of Kādir Shāh having stored his Indian treasure here. There is one of the earliest notices of Kīlūt, for it is not mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers, but it became famous in later times, notably after its siege by Timur, as described by 'Alī of Yezd in his *Zafar Nāmah* (i, 324). In 1873 it was visited and described by Colonel Macgregor (*Kurdistan*, ii, 51). The town of Marivan (the MSS. give Marān, Ha'armiyān, and many other variants) was within the limits of Kīlūt.

Herāt was watered by the canals of the river Hari-rūd. It had a famous castle called Shamsīram, built over the ruins of an ancient Fire-temple, on a mountain two leagues distant from the city, and Mustawfī adds a long account of the town, its markets and its elms, giving the names of the various city canals derived from the Hari-rūd (L 216p. The river of Herāt rose in the mountains of Ghūr, after passing Herāt it watered the Fūshanj district, and thence flowed north to join the Sarakhs river (the modern Tejend-āb). Asfuzūr, now generally called Sabzīvūr of Afghanistan, is a town at some distance to the south of Herāt, and is mentioned in the Itineraries (Route xv, and Ibn Hawkal, p. 305). Fūshanj [6], or Būshanj according to the same authorities, must be identical with the present city of Ghūriyān lying west of Herāt near the Hari-rūd, and under the name Fūshanj it sustained a siege by Timur, as described in the *Zafar Nāmah* (i, 312), but I have been unable to discover when its present name of Ghūriyān first came into use.² According to Mustawfī, Kusay, or Kuari [7] and

¹ *Kīlūt* which has come to be the name of more than one important fortress-town of western Asia, is a word that apparently came into use at the close of the middle ages, and is presumably a Persianised form of the Arabic *Kā'āt* (read with dotted *kā* 'mā' *g*'s cause'). It is worth noting that the name *Kīlūt* does not occur in Yāqūt or I believe in any of the earlier Arab geographers.

² The name *Būshanj*, or *Būshan*, has apparently gone completely out of use; on the other hand I can find no mention of this *Qūriyān* in any Eastern author. Yāqūt iii. 421 422 mentions *Qūriyān*, which he says is commonly pronounced *Ghūriyān*, and is a village near the gate of the city of Herāt; and there was the village of *Ghūriyān* near Mary. Neither of these, however, can

Kharkrd [8], the former given in the Itinerary of Ibn Rustah (p. 172) and the latter by Ibn Hawkal (p. 334), were the chief towns of its district.

Mān [9], apparently the town now called Shahr-i-Naw, judging by the distances in the Arab Itineraries, was the chief town of the Bākharā district, which lay further to the north along the left bank of the Harī-rūd, and the district of Badghīs lies some distance to the eastward, away from the right bank of the Harī-rūd, being due north of Herāt. Mustawfī mentions Kārizah, where Hākīm Barkāʾ had lived who founded the city of Nakhshab in Transoxiana, also as its chief town Gunaoud (or Kuh Ghanūbad) [10], and he names various other places both here and in the Itinerary (Route xvii) which cannot now be identified (viz., Buzurgtarīn, Lab, Jad, Uknīrūn, Kā un, and Dīhistān), for the whole region of Bāughīs has now relapsed to the desert, though numerous ruined sites are to be met with near the river beds. The town of Jam [11], famous for its shrine, was by the Arab geographers known as Buxjan, later Pūchkān, and is marked on our maps. Chast (cf. Ibn Batūtah, iii, 457) would appear to have been a town near Herāt, but its exact position is unknown, and the spelling of the name is uncertain. Khwāf [12], with its district, lies to the south of Bākharā, and Mustawfī gives its chief towns as Salūm [13], Sanjān [14], and Zūzan [15], all of which will be found on the map, in the present Khwāf district. Zāvah is, as we learn from Ibn Batūtah (iii, 79), the town now known as Turbat-i-Haydari, so called from the saint buried there, and Zāvah was the name of the surrounding region, also known as Bīshak.

The great districts lying to the north-east of Khurāsān (in what is now Afghanistan) are only very briefly referred to by Mustawfī. Ghūr, the mountainous country lying between the head-waters of the Herāt river and the Helmand, has already been referred to in the previous chapter when

be the modern town of Ghōrīān, the name of which recalls the province of Ghūr where the Ghōrīd Sultans held sway in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D.

speaking of Firūzkūh.¹ Balkh is mentioned as being in ruins, and Bāmiyān was in a like condition, Changhī Khān having ordered its utter destruction to avenge the death of a grandson who was killed during the siege, at the time of the Mongol invasion. Tukhārīstān is the country along the southern bank of the upper waters of the Oxus, and Panjīr is the name of the silver-mine at the eastern source of the Kābul river. Jūzjūn is the district westward of Balkh, of which Shuberkūn and Fāryāb were the chief towns. The first-mentioned still exists, and the position of Fāryāb, which is described by Ibn Hawkal (p. 321) and Yūkūt (i., 840, 888), is fixed by the information given in the Itinerary (Route xi.) Khutlān is the country lying north of the upper waters of the Oxus, Saminjūn lay south-east of Balkh, and Tāyikūn is the place which still exists of this name in the extreme east of the province of Tukhārīstān, being sometimes, in error, written Tū. kūn. The name Tūl.kūn, however, is more properly given to the city of the Jūzjūn district, the name of which has now disappeared from the map, but which, according to the Itinerary (Routes xi. and xii.), lay three marches distant from Marv-ar-Rūd (Bālā Marghāb) and a little off the high road going from that city to Balkh. This Tūl.kūn is described by Ibn Hawkal (p. 321), Ya'qūbī (p. 287), and Yakūt (i., 491); it was an important town, and its ruins are probably to be identified with the mounds of brick near Onachaktu, which have been recently examined by Colonel Yate.²

¹ In this passage, in place of Ghūr, many MSS. of the *Maḥal* read Ghari, and some have Ghari-stān. The name of this region has nothing to do with Georgia, or Gurgān to the north of Armenia, described by Mas'ūdī in Chapter 5, for Ghari-stān took its name from the ancient king of northern Afghanistan called by the Arabs Ghari-shah-Ghar. According to Yakūt (i., 766, 781-825) Ghari-stān, often confounded with Ghūrīstān and even indifferently Ghurīstān or Ghurīstān, was the country along the upper waters of the Marghāb, to the eastward of Marv-ar-rūd. Its limits were trans on the one side and Herāt on the other with Ghazneh to the south-east. The sites of the many towns in Ghūr and Ghari-stān, mentioned by the Arab geographers, are completely unknown.

² See *Northern Afghanistan*, by O. E. Yate (1898) p. 167. The Chachaktu ruins are forty-five m. as the crow flies from Bālā Marghāb, which last, I consider, undoubtedly represents Marv-ar-Rūd and the distance may be counted as the equivalent of three days' march in the low country. Kalab

Kavādiyān still exists to the north-east of Tirmid, which last is on the Oxus, and Kālif is lower down the great river, also on its right bank. Mustawfī gives a long account of Marv-i-Shūbiyān, or Great Marv, on the Murgāb river. This river, as he says (L. 214u), had originally been called the Marv-āb or Marv river, but was in his days generally known as the Āb-i-Razik. The *Jihān Numā* (p. 328) has Zarbak, and the MSS. give Āb-i-Rūbak or Zarik, as in Yākūt (ii, 777), with other variants. It flowed down to Great Marv from Marv-ar Rūd, or Little Marv, which is now represented by the place called Būlā Murghab, as stated in a previous note. Abīvard [16] still exists, on the desert border north of Kālūt-i-Nadiri. Khavārūn [17], now Khabarūn and Khavārdūn, its dependency, lies between Kālūt-i-Nadiri and Sarakhs, which last stands on the lower reach of the Herāt river after it has received on its left bank the stream coming down from Tūs and Musahad. Lastly, Mūraz (Yūdaz and Yūzar, with other readings, are given in the MSS.) appears to be unknown, and the same remark applies to Kālāt May, of which the MSS. also give many diverse readings (Bāy, Nār, etc.).

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the province of Khurāsān in the middle ages extended as far north and east as the bank of the Oxus, which was held to divide the lands of Īrān from Tūrān; and when Mustawfī wrote there appears good evidence for the belief that the Oxus was pouring

Wal and Takht-i Khātān, one or other of which is put forward by Colonel Yate (op. cit., pp. 184-5 and 2.1) as a possible site for Tā kān, being each of them only some twenty-seven miles distant from Bān Murghab, are both of them too near to suit the case. As regards the site of the city of Fāryāb, this may well have been at the modern Khayrābād, where there is an ancient fort and mounds with ruins, as described by Colonel Yate (op. cit. Map of the North-West Frontier of Afghanistan, and p. 233), who narrates some local legends of past times that have clustered round this site. The name of this Fāryāb of Juzjān is also spelt Firyāb by Yākūt (i, 888), and it must not be confounded either with Farab, otherwise written Farāb, now called Qazvī, on the Jaxartes, or with Fīrāz, son of whose written Fīrāb, on the Oxus, at the ferry of Chāy-ūy. It will be noticed also that there were during the Middle Ages three Tānkāna, viz., Tānkān, or Tūyikān, the town of Tukharistan which still exists next Tānkān of Juzjān mentioned; lastly, the Tānkān district in Farān Īrāq, to the south-west of Kāzvin, which has been noticed in Chapter 2.

its waters into the Caspian Sea, and not, except for an insignificant part, into the Aral, as is now the case.¹

In Append xlv Mustawfî gives a description of the Jayhûn or Amûyah (L. 213f, with which compare the Turkish translation in the *Sûdan Nûmid*, p. 300), as the Arabs and Persians named the Oxus. The river had two sources, one in Tibet, the other in the Badakhshân mountains; and along its upper course five great streams flowed in before it took up the waters of the Wakhabûb (L. 220f) in the district of Şighariyan, where stood Tirin'd over against Balkh. Flowing on through the desert, the Oxus next came to the Narrows, mentioned also in the Itinerary (Route x x), known as Tang-i-Dabûn-i-Shîr—'the passage of the Lion's Mouth'—near Bukshah, of the district of Hazarsap, where the precipitous banks are hardly a hundred *gers* (yards) across. This is the gorge which is now known as Dovah Boyun—'the Camel's Neck'—and according to Mustawfî the stream here passes underground for a couple of leagues completely hidden from sight. From Hozârasp down to the Aral Sea numerous canals are led off, some ending in the desert, some discharging their water into the Aral, but the main stream, Mustawfî says, after passing Old Urganj, turns down by the 'Akabab-i-Halam (or Salam), which in Turki is called Karlâdî (or Karlûvsh), where the rushing of its waters can be heard two leagues away, and, thence flowing on for a distance of a x days' march, ultimately finds its exit in the Caspian Sea (Buhr Khazar) at Khalkhal, a fishing station.

When describing the Caspian (L. 225f), Mustawfî speaks of the Island of Âbaskûn, and he says "this island is now

¹ Professor de Goe's has written a most learned and interesting work on this subject (*Des sources de l'Oxus*, Leyden, 1875), in which he seeks to discredit the statements of the Persian geographers, and in some cases gives it as his opinion that the Oxus during all time in these ages (as at the present time) flowed into the Aral. I shall not presume to enter the lists against Professor de Goe's. I only quote in the following passages the authorities on the other side. But I may mention that Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had studied the question as a practical geographer and knew as well the writings of the Persian and Arab authors was of a contrary opinion, holding that from the earliest years of the thirteenth century a.s. down to about the year 1575 the Oxus had continued to have its chief outflow into the Caspian, not into the Aral.

sunk under the water, because the Oxus, which formerly had flowed into the Eastern Lake (the Aral) lying over against the lands of Gog and Magog, since the time of the Mughāl invasion has changed its course, and now flows out to the Caspian; and hence, this latter sea having no outlet, the dry land (of the Ābaskūn island) has now become submerged by the rising level of the waters." Now, in regard to this alleged change in the Oxus bed at the epoch of the Mongol invasion, we have the contemporary evidence of Ibn-al-A'īr (xii, 267) that Changlīs Kīān in 617 (A.D. 1220) sent his armies against Khwārizm, when, after a siege of five months, Old Urganj was stormed, and the Oxus dykes which protected the city having been cut, the whole country was laid under water. The overflow appears to have drained off to the south-west, following a line of depression to the Caspian; for there is the evidence of Yākut (iv, 670), a contemporary of these events, who describes Mank ashgh as a strongly fortified castle "standing on the shore of the Sea of Tabaristan (i.e. the Caspian), into which the Jayhūn now flows."

In the work of Hūfī Abrū, composed in 820 (1417 A.D.) under the patronage of Shāhrūkh, the son and successor of Timur—and Hūfī Abrū must himself have been well acquainted with the geography of these countries from personal knowledge—we find the statement that the Jayhūn, "which of old flowed into the Lake of Khwārizm (the Aral), having made itself a new bed, now flows out to the Naḥr-Khasar (the Caspian) at Kurāwud or Kurāwū, otherwise called Akranchah, by which cause the Aral Sea has come to disappear" (British Museum Manuscript, Or 1,577, *folio 32b*). And again, in the paragraph on the Aral Sea in the same MS. (*folio 27b*), he says that, while formerly the Jayhūn had flowed into the Aral, "now, namely in the year 820, this sea no more exists, for the Jayhūn has made a new bed to itself, and flows out into the Caspian."

Finally, to complete the evidence on the double shifting of the Oxus bed, we have the account by Abu-l-Ghaxī, a native prince of the Urganj region, who states that some

thirty years before A. H. 1014, the date of his birth, which places the change in about A. D. 1575, the Oxus made itself again a new channel, and turning off at *Ḳarā-Uig'ūr-Tukāy* below *Knūst-Minūrahāi*, made its way to *Tūk Kal'ahai* and thence out directly to the Aral Sea, thus changing the lands between *Urganj* and the Caspian into a desert for lack of water. And in another passage he describes how in former times, namely, among the events of the years from 1540 to 1530 A. D., all the way from *Urganj*, by *Pishgāh* and *Ḳarā Kichit*, to *Uighūrehah* and *Alūkhūn* on the Caspian, there were cultivated fields and vineyards along what was still, when he wrote, the but half desiccated bed of the Oxus. (French translation by Baron Desmoussons of the *History of the Mongols and the Tartars* by *Abu-l-Ghazī Khūn*, vol. i, pp. 221 and 312, and Text in vol. ii, pp. 207 and 291, St. Petersburg, 1871.)

In regard to *Khawārizm*, now generally called *Khivāh*, which is the Delta land of the Oxus, it will be found that among the Itineraries *Mustawfī* gives two (Routes xiv and xix) leading across the desert to *Urganj*, one from *Farāvah* (*Kizil Arvūt*), the other from Great *Marv*. *Khawārizm* was at no time counted as of *Īrān*, but, as noticed in the Table of Contents of the *Nushah*, a short section is devoted to this Province in Part IV of the Third Book, treating of Foreign Lands, which may be summarized in the following concluding paragraph. Unfortunately, the names of towns as given in the MSS. and in the Lithographed text (L. 254g) are extremely corrupt, and, indeed, do not serve to clear up the many queries in regard to the names of stages in the two Routes which lead to *Urganj*.

Hamd-Allah begins by stating that at the time when he wrote the capital city of the country was *Urganj*, which, however, was then more generally known as *Khawārizm* (properly the name of the whole province). Formerly, he adds, the capital city was *Fil*, but the government was shifted first to *Manṣūrah* and then to *Urganj*. The city of *Kāth* had in former times (he says) been known as *Jarjūniyah* (this, however, is undoubtedly a mistake), and

he then names a number of the more important towns, among which are Hazārasp, Darghāu, and Madmīniyah, with many others whose names it is impossible to identify, finally Khivah, a small provincial town (or *Kashbah*) which had recently been the abode of the Shaykh Najm-ad-Dīn Kubrī. We thus learn that already in the fourteenth century A.D. Khivah was rising to importance; it is merely mentioned in the list of towns by the earlier Arab geographers, but Yāqut, writing a century before the time of Hamd-Allah, has devoted a short article to it (ii, 512), spelling the name Khivak, adding that the common people of Kt-wārizm then already called it Kuīvah. Under the spelling Khivak the town and its governor are mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd, and this was the scene of one of the early adventures in the life of Timar, who at a later period caused its walls to be carefully rebuilt (*Zafar Nāmah*, i, 62, 449).

Chapter 18. *Māzandarān.*

Contents: Jurjān city, 190*h*, Astarābād, 190*p*, Āmul, 190*q*; Dibistān, 190*t*; Rasamdūr, 190*u*, Rūghad, 190*v*, Sārī, 190*w*, Kabūd Jāmah, 190*y*, Nīm-Murdān, 190*z*.

The mountainous region lying along the south coast of the Caspian, towards the east, was called Ṭabaristān in the early middle ages, *Ṭabar* having the signification of 'mountain' in the local dialect, whence Ṭabaristān would have had the meaning of 'the Mountain Country.' This name, however, about the time of the Mongol conquest, gave place to that of Māzandarān; the new province being taken to include Jurjān on the east, which formerly had been reckoned as a separate district and not included in the older Ṭabaristān. Māzandarān is divided by Mustawfī into seven districts, namely, Jurjān, Mūrustāk (with variants Murdistān, etc.; the *Jihān Numā*, p. 339, has Rard-Murustāk), Astarābād, Āmul with Rasamdūr, Dibistān, Rūghad, and Siyāh Rastān (other variants of this last in the MSS. being Wastān, Sitān,

Sāristān, and in the *Jihā Numā*, Sūstān). Of these seven, the positions of three, namely, of Murus āk, of Rūghad, and of Siyūh Bastan, are entirely unknown, and these names are not apparently mentioned by any other geographer.

In his Appendix on the Rivers Mustawfi notes that the district of Jurjān was watered by two rivers, namely, by the lower part of the Āb-i Atrak (L. 212a), which had its springs near Khabūsan and in the famous plain of Nāū (now Darrah-Gaz) of Khurāsān; and next by the Jurjān river (L. 212a), on which stood the city of Jurjān; both the Jurjān river and the Atrak flowing out to the Caspian within the Jurjān territory. Jurjan City in the time of Mustawfi was a ruin, Astarūbād being the capital of the district. Dimasīn lay on the northern frontier, the ruins of it are probably those now known as Mashhad-i-Masīyān, and it was the outpost against the Turks and Kurds on the road to Khwārizm.

Ārnul has always been the capital of Tabaristān, and Rustamdār is the district already noticed in Chapter 2 as lying along the bank of the Sūbūrūd which as Rudbar was counted as of Persian Īrāk. According to the *Nushat* Rūghad (Rū'ad in the *Jihā Numā*, p. 341) was a medium-sized town, being also the name of the surrounding district; the site is unknown, but it lay presumably in Tabaristan, among the mountains overlooking the Caspian. The city of Sārī is still a flourishing place, and its district was that which Mustawfi names Kāhūd Jīmāh, while Nim-Murdūn (neither name being mentioned by the Arab geographers, though both are copied into the *Jihā Numā*, p. 341) was a populous island or peninsula, with Shahrūbād for chief town, at the south-eastern angle of the Caspian, presumably now represented by the tongue of land forming the northern limit of Astarūbād Bay. As of Tabaristān, Mustawfi mentions the mountains called Kūh Tārik and Kūh Haram, or Hajam (L. 205r, 207a), where marvellous caves and wondrous sights were to be seen, but the position of neither mountain is given, and these names do not appear on our present maps.

Chapter 19. Kūmis.

Contents. Khuvār, 191d Dāmghān, 191e, Samnān, 191f; Bustām and Āhūrān, 191g, Girdkūh, 191h, Firūzkūh, 191i, Damāvand, 191m, Firīm, 191p, Khurkān, 191r.

Kūmis was the name of the province lying along the desert border south of the great mountains of Ṭabaristān; most of the towns mentioned by Mustawfī still are found, but now included in Khurāsān, for as a separate province Kūmis no longer exists, and the name even is gone out of use. In the vicinity of Dāmghān was a mountain called Kuh-i-Zar—'Gold Mountain'—where mines of the precious metal were worked (L. 204g, and Dāmghān itself is still an important city. Khuvār [1] is the town now called Aradun, but the district round is known under the old name, and Khuvār or Aradun, called Khuvār of Ray or Mahallish-i Kh.gh, is on the great eastern high road from Ray into Khurāsān (see Route ix). Samnān [2] stands half way between Khuvār and Dāmghān, Bustām (Bī-lūm or Basūm) lying further to the eastward of this last, while Āwvān [3] is a Rubāṭ or Guardhouse between Dāmghān and Samnān.

The fortress of Girdkūh [4], called also Dax-i-Gurobadī ān—'the Domed Fort'—lay in the mountains three leagues distant from Dāmghān, and Mansūrabad was in its vicinity. The celebrated stronghold of Firūzkūh [5] stands at the head-waters of the stream flowing down to Khuvār; due west of it lies the town of Damāvand [6], which Mustawfī says was originally called Pashyūn, the town lying a considerable distance to the south of the famous Damāvand mountain of Ṭabaristān. The position of Firīm, mentioned also by Yāqūt (ii, 890) and other Arab geographers, has not been identified. Khurkān was a town of the district of Bustām, lying four leagues distant therefrom, on the road towards Astānīlād, as is mentioned by Yāqūt (ii, 424) and Kazvīnī (ii, 243).

Chapter 20. Gilān.

Contents: Isfahbad, 191r, Tūlm, 191x, Tamijūn, 191y, Rasht, 191z Shaft, 192a Fūmin, 192b, Kūjasfahūn, 192c; Kawtām, 192d, Karjuyūn, 192e, Lānījūn, 192f, Ta sar, 192h.

Gilan, or the Jilauūt Province, was backed by the mountains of Daylam, and lay on the shore of the Caspian at the mouth of the river Sūd-rūd. Isfahbad, or Ispahbid, as is well known, was the name given to the semi-independent governors of this province under the Sassanian kings, and the Ispahbids continued to rule as princes under the early Caliphs; the city of Ispahbudān is mentioned by Yāqut (i, 298) as lying two miles from the sea-shore, but apparently no trace of it now remains. In the time of Mustawfī, however, Isfahbad was a medium-sized town surrounded by a district with nearly a hundred villages, and its revenues amounted to 29,000 dinārs, or about £7,000. Tūlm is now the name of a district lying west of Rasht, the town of Tūlm [1] having presumably gone to ruin, both this and the town of Tamijūn (or Taymjūn) having disappeared from the map. Mustawfī is one of the first authorities to mention Rasht,¹ now the chief town of Gilān, and it was already in his day famous for its silk stuffs.

The town of Shaft [2] no longer exists, but the district of this name lies south of Rasht, and to the westward of it is the Fūmin [3] district, with the town of Fūmin as its chief place. Of Kūjasfahūn (Kujastān is the spelling given in the *Jahān Nāma*, p. 344, with Kujkūn, Kūjīfahān, and other

¹ In the *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* (vol. II, 52, 53, and iii, 75) a series of copper coins is described, bearing the name MS. 107, 107a, 107b, 108, which are dated 596 A.H. and 598 A.H., and attributed to the mint-city of Rasht. These coins bear the name and titles of Shāhryār II, the Shāh Shāh of Rūm, and if the reading *Rasht* be accepted, would go to prove that the Sultāns of Rūm exercised sovereign rights in Gilān, and that Rasht was already an important city at the close of the sixth century A.H. The reading, however, does not appear, on examination of the coins, to be tenable, and the facts as known to us from history are decidedly against Rasht having ever belonged to Shāhryār II of Rūm.

readings in the MSS.), originally built by Ardashir Bābgān and named Sahnish, nothing is now known; and the same has to be said of the town of Karjayān, given also as Kirjān or Kahyūn in the MSS., but not named elsewhere. Kawtem [4], on the sea-shore, a good port near the mouth of the Safid-rūd, though mentioned by Yāqūt (iv, 316), is apparently now lost, being represented by the modern Kūhdam district lying eastward of Shaft. Lāhijūn [5] still exists, and by Mustawfi is held to be the capital of Gilān, being famous for its fruit gardens; but for Ta'sar, the last place mentioned in the list (with variants in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 344, of Bushishāh, also Niesar, Nir, and Taster in the MSS.), I am unable to offer any identification.

APPENDIX I. THE ITINERARIES.

For convenience of reference the Itineraries given consecutively by Mustawfī are in the following pages divided up into thirty-three Routes. Many of these are identical with the routes given by Ibn Khurdādhbih and Kudāmah in their Road-Books, and are found in other of the medieval Arab geographers. Some of the routes not given by the Arabs are found copied from Mustawfī into the pages of the *Jihān Namā* of Ḥajjī Khalfah. The distances are given in Farsakhs, each equivalent to a league, or one hour's march.

Route I. — Sultāniyah to Hamadān and Kangvār (L. 192*w*).—

Sultāniyah 5 farsakhs to Bajshir village, thence 4 to the Ribāt of Atabeg Muḥammad ibn Ildūgis, thence 4 to Karkahar village in the Hamadān province, thence 6 to Šāji village of Hamadān, thence 5 to Walaj village, thence 6 to the city of Hamadān, thence by the pass over mount Arrand (Elvend) in 7 farsakhs to Asadābād, and thence 6 to Kangvār, the first village in Kurdistan.

As far as Hamadān these stages are not given in any of the Arab Itineraries — Sultāniyah, as already said, only having been built and made the capital of the Ilkhāns in the reign of Uljaytū — and most of the names of places mentioned in the list are uncertain¹. Thus, Dih Bajshir is given in the various MSS. as Lajshir, Valūshjird, and Dih Bakahrh (*Dih* being the Persian for 'village,' omitted or added, indifferently), and this may be Bijtayn, a village at the right distance south of Sultāniyah; the various readings given above would then be due merely to confusion in the placing of accidental points. For Dih Karkahar some MSS. have Karkaharand, possibly for the present Kabatrung.

¹ Much of this country is described in *Notes of a Journey from Kasheen to Hamadan*, by J. D. Ross (Madras, 1836), but the names given by Mustawfī do not occur.

Variants of *Sājī* are *Ṣūhībī*, *Masāh-jin*, and *Sājū*. Muḥammad ibn Ildagiz, the founder of the Ribūt mentioned above, was Atabeg of Adharbayjūn and virtual ruler of 'Irāk from 568 to 581 (1172 to 1185). The word *Rubāṭ* (pronounced also *Rubāṭ* and *Rabāṭ*), which occurs frequently in the names of post-stations, means literally 'a tying-up place' and came to signify a hospice, or guardhouse, notably on the frontier.

Route II.—Kangvār to Hulwān (L. 192a).—Kangvār is 5 farsakhs to Shnāh village, thence 4 to Jam'amāl City, thence in 5 farsakhs—the statue of the horse Shabd's lying to the right of the road, with the portraits of King Khusrāw and Queen Shirin at a place where two springs gush out that turn two ways—to Kirmānshāhān, thence 6 to Khushkarish, thence 5 to Jākāvān, thence 5 to the villages of Kirind and Khūshān, thence by the Pass of Tāk-i-Kizā in 8 farsakhs to Hulwān city, the first place in Arabian 'Irāk; but by the Gū wa Gilān road this last stage is easier, though one farsakh longer.

The stages from Hamadan going south-west, but given the reverse way, are part of the great eastern high road leading from Baghdād to Marv, found in all the Arab Itineraries. Khushkarish is the reading in Ibn Khurdādhbih (p. 19); the *Nuzhat* MSS. give various readings, as Ḥakārmish, Chakārish, etc., and no place of this name now exists. The next place, Jākāvān, is not identical with any stage mentioned by the Arab Itineraries, and many variants are given, e.g., Dīh Hīsakavān, Khafārkan, Hafākadan, Janākān, and Kbiyārkanvān. No village of Khūshān (or Hārshān as a variant) is to be found on the map anywhere near Kirind; but the road down by Gū wa Gilān, and the Tāk-i-Kizū pass, are mentioned (L. 216n) as the place where one of the affluents of the Nahravān takes its rise (see above, Chapter 1).

Route III.—Hulwān to Baghdād and Najaf (L. 193c).—Hulwān is 5 farsakhs to Kaṣr Shirin, thence 5 to Khānkin city, thence 5 to Rubāṭ Julūlā built by Malik-Shāh the Saljūk, thence 5

to Hārūsiyah, thence—with Shahrabān lying 2 farsakhs distant to the right of the road—in 7 farsakhs to Ba'kūbā city, and thence 8 to Baghdād. From Baghdād it is 2 farsakhs to Sarsar village, thence 7 to Farāshah, thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Bāsil lying on the Euphrates half a league away on the right hand—to the Nil Canal, then 2 farsakhs to the city of H. alah, thence—passing the place where Nimrod threw Abraham into the Fire at Kāthā Rabbā, lying one league to the left of the road—after 7 farsakhs comes the city of Kūfah, thence 2 farsakhs distant lies the Mash'ad (Place of Martyrdom) of 'A. I., the Commander of the Faithful, at Najaf on the desert border.

Most of the places mentioned in this and the next two Routes are given on my Map for Ibn Serapion. The Rubāṭ (Guardhouse) of Jalālā, a place famous in Abbasid history, is probably the present Caravanserai of Kizil Rubat. Dh Farāshah, nine leagues south of Baghdād, is not given by any other authority, other variants in the MSS. are Karījah, Khawūshah, and Badiyah-Farrash—'the Carpet-spreader's plain'—but the readings are most uncertain. The text of the *Nushat* after this gives the Routes beyond Najaf for the pilgrims crossing Arabia to Mecca and Medina, but these are here omitted, as belonging to countries outside the limits of Irān, with which alone the present paper deals.

Route IV. Baghdād to Baṣrah, and thence by sea to the Island of Kays (L. 1957) — Baghdād 5 farsakhs to Mudān, thence 10 to Dayr-al-'Ākūl, thence 7 to Jabbul, thence 10 to Famaṣ-Silḥ, thence 9 to Wāsiṭ, thence 10 to Nahrabān, thence 8 to Fārūth, thence 5 to Dayr-al-'Ummāl, thence 7 to Hawānīl; thence passing by the canal called the Shaṭṭ-al-Mā to the Swamps, and on through the Nahr-al-'Amd, after 30 farsakhs is the beginning of the Blind Tigris estuary, by which and the Nahr Ma'kil after 10 farsakhs is Baṣrah. From Baṣrah it is 12 farsakhs to 'Abbāsīān, whence 2 by fresh water to the open sea, thence 60 leagues to Khārik Island, thence 80 leagues to Al-'An Island, thence 7 to Abren Island, thence 8 to the island of Chīn or Khayn, which is uninhabited, and thence 8 to the emporium of Kays Island.

The towns on this and the next two Routes will be found on the Ibn Serapion Map. For the islands in the Persian Gulf, see above, Chapter 12; a part of this Route is given in the *Jihān Nūmā*, p. 458.

Route V.—Baghdād to Rāhbah (L. 195e).—Baghdād 3 farsakhs to Tall-‘Akarkūf, which is a hillock so high that it can be seen from the desert eleven leagues away, thence 8 farsakhs to the city of Anbār; thence by the way across the Samawāt desert you may reach Damascus direct in ten days, it being 100 leagues distant, or from Anbār you go to Rāhbah (on the Euphrates), which last is 70 leagues from Baghdād.

Route VI.—Baghdād to Mosul (L. 195x).—Baghdād 4 farsakhs to Baradān, thence 5 to Ukberah, thence 3 to Bāhamasā, thence 7 to Kāhisiyah, thence 3 to Sāmarrāh, thence 2 to Kerkh, thence 7 to Jabūlā, thence 5 to Sulakāniyah, thence 5 to Bāmmā, thence 5 to the Bridge over the lower Zab, a tributary of the Tigris, thence 12 to Hadithah, thence 7 to Banī Tāmān, and finally 14 farsakhs to Mawṣul (Mosul).

The name of the place called Bāhamasā or Būjamahā by Ibn Khurādīh (p. 93), a dozen leagues north of Baghdād, is uncertain, the *Nusakh* MSS. give the name variously as Jamī‘ā, Hamāsah, and Hamyā, with other variations. Banī Tāmān, the last stage before Mosul, is also uncertain; variants are Banī Tahān in the MSS., and in Ibn Khurdādhbih (p. 93) Tamyān, Tahmān, etc., are given.

Route VII.—Kangavār to Isfahān (L. 195g).—Kangavār 5 farsakhs to Bīdastān, thence 2 to Nihāvand c.n.y., thence 4 to Farāmūr village, thence 4 to the city of Burūjird. Beyond Burūjird the road to Subūrkhvāt turns off to the right hand, while going left from Burūjird it is 4 farsakhs to Hasanābād, thence 8 to Miyān-Rūdān thence 2 to Minār, thence 5 to the city of Karaj. From Karaj it is 4 farsakhs to Dūnsūn, thence 5 to Āsan. here the more direct road to Isfahān turns off to the right, while going left from Āsan it is 5 farsakhs to Sangān, thence 5 to Jūy-Murgh-Kuhtar, thence 7 to Ashkurān, thence 7 to Tīrān, thence 8 to Jūy-i-Kuzakh, and finally 4 leagues to Isfahān.

The road going eastward from Kanguvār to Isfahān, in the Arab Itineraries, follows a different route to the one given by Mustawfī, though both pass by Karaj of Abu Dulaf, the position of which has been noticed in Chapter 2. The MSS. give a few variants; the name of the village of Farāmurs beyond Nāvand is written Karūkuk in some copies, and Husnūbād appears as Junābād. Mi-yūnā-Rūdān—'Between Streams'—is on the upper waters of the eastern tributary of the Harj rd river, south-east of this town and south-west of Karaj of Abu Dulaf. From Karaj to Isfahān many of the places named on the map are not found, and the variants in the MSS. are Āsan or Masan; for Dangūn, Sātkaa or Sakwīn. Ashkarūn or Ashgharūn is marked on the map and given by Yūkhūt (i, 281) as Ashkarūn; he also mentions (i, 446) Bāb Kusik as one of the great quarters at the gate of Isfahān, and though this name has now disappeared, Tīrān is a village marked on the map.

Route VIII—Sulṭāniyāh to Sūmghān (L 196d)—Sulṭāniyāh in 6 farsakhs to the village of Kūhūd, which the Maghānis call Sā'in Kū'ah, thence 4 to the city of Abhar, thence 4 to Fārajīn, thence—with the city of Kāzvin lying 4 leagues distant on the left hand—in 6 farsakhs to Sūmghān, which the Maghānis call Ak Khwājah. Beyond this place the way divides, to the right the road turns off, going to Sagzābād in 6 farsakhs (see Route XXVI), while the main road towards Kharāsān continues onward, as given in the next Route.

The name Kūbūd is now not known, Sā'in Kal'ah having taken its place; the three next places will all be found on the map. Sūmghān, however, is wanting, and apparently is not mentioned by any other geographer; also the reading of the name is uncertain. Hamd - Allah, as will have been seen in Chapter 15, gives it as the uppermost limit of the Great Desert, and in the various MSS. the name appears as Sumkūn, Suwīkūn, Sūskān or Sūshkūn, Sūbīkūn, Siyūtūn, and Sus'an. It evidently was a place of some importance, and its position is fixed by the distances given between it, Fārajīn, Kāzvin, and Sagzābād or Sagz ābād.

Route IX—Sūmghān to Bustām (L. 196*d*).—Sūmghān is 5 farsakhs to the village of Māmarah, thence 8 to Laland thence 8 to Bunkurāād, thence 8 to Dih Kārān, thence 8 to the Place of Martyrdom (Mashhad) of the Imām-zādh 'Abī-al-'Azīm, thence 8 to the city of Ray, thence 8 to Varāmīn, thence 8 to the Rabāṭ of Khumārtān, thence 8 to Kīlvār of Ray, which is called Maḥallah-i-Bāgh (the Garden-Place), thence 8 to Dih Namak (Salt Village), thence 8 to Rās-al-Kalb (Dog's Head), thence 8 to Dih Surkh (Red Village), thence 4 to Samnān, thence 7 to Rabāṭ Āhvān, thence 7 to Rudāṭ Kurmas, also known as Jarm-Jūy (Hot-stream), thence 8 to Dāmghān, thence 8 to Ḥadlādah, otherwise known as Miḥmān-dūst (Guest-friend). From this place one road branches to the right, going direct to Nishāpūr by Sabzivār, to the left is the high road which passes through Jājam, and from Ḥadlādah by this it is 7 farsakhs to the city of Bustām.

The name Māmarah, one stage out from Sūmghān, is uncertain, the MSS. give various readings, as Yāburah, Mārbin, Hamrin, and Hamarah. Also the next stage is variously given as Diband, Dih Pahand, or Sahand, and this name occurs again as one among the villages of Kāzin mentioned in Chapter 2 (L. 146*r*). The remaining stations are for the most part those of the Arab itineraries, and will be found on the map; Rās-al-Kalb (Dog's Head), which Yāqūt (ii, 733) refers to as a *Kal'ah* or Castle, is possibly identical with the present Lasjird, as already stated in the Introduction. Places named in the next two Routes have already been noticed in Chapters 17 and 19, or else will be found on our present maps, these being also for the most part identical with the stages given in the Arab itineraries.

Route X—Bustām to Nishāpūr (L. 196*n*).—From the city of Bustām it is 7 farsakhs to Maghas, thence 7 to Sulṭāniyāh village (or Dih-i-Sūtān), thence 3 to Rabāṭ Sarauj, and thence 8 to Jājam. From Jājam it is 8 farsakhs to the village of Āsadrār, the birthplace of Khwajah Shams-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāḥib Livān, thence 4 to Khūdāshāh, thence 3 to Bahrābād village, the abode of Shaykh Sa'd-ad-Dīn of Hamāh, thence 8 to Barsemābād, thence 4 to Tūdah (or Nūdah), thence

8 to Takān-kūh, thence 8 to Rubāt Dūstagan at the village of Ahmāshād, and thence 4 farsakhs to Nushāpūr

Route XI—Nushāpūr to Sarakhs and Merv-ar-Rūd (L. 196a).—Nushāpūr 7 farsakhs to Lih Bād, whence the road to Herāt branches to the right hand (Route XV), and from Dīh Bād, turning left, it is 6 leagues to Kūhastar village, thence 8 to Rubāt Sanghat, thence 8 to Rubāt Ma 1, thence 7 to Rubāt Tūrān (or Nū-ān), thence in 7 farsakhs, across two passes each of half a league, you go to Rubāt Ālghān, thence 8 to Sarakhs, thence 9 to Rubāt Jafārī, thence 7 to Mīl 'Omari, thence 7 to Rubāt Abū Nu'aym, thence 8 farsakhs across the desert made with no water to Āb Shūr thence 2 to Dīz Hūd, and thence 8 to the city of Merv-ar-Rūd.

Route XII—Merv-ar-Rūd to Balkh and the Oxus (L. 197a).—Merv-ar-Rūd 7 farsakhs to Rubāt-i Su-tān, thence 8 to the village of Karāshād (or Kūshād), thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Takān lying 6 leagues distant on the right hand of the road—to Āb-i Qarm (Hot-Spring), thence 5 to Ka Star-khānah, thence 7 to Masjid Ruzān, thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Fāryāb lying two leagues distant on the right of the road—to Aukān, thence 8 to Rubāt Ka'b, thence 9 farsakhs across a waterless plain to the city of Shaburkān. Thence it is 2 farsakhs to the village of Sulbarān, thence 9 to Rubāt 'Alawī (the Aid Granthouse), thence 1 to Dastagird, thence 8 to the village of Pārāh at the Bridge of Jamukhān, and thence 2 to Balkh. From the city of Balkh it is 8 farsakhs to Siyāh kūh (the Black Hills), and thence in 8 farsakhs you come to the Oxus river over against Turmūd.

Route XIII—In the British Museum MS (Add. 16.736) is the following duplication, in part, of the preceding route.—Merv-ar-Rūd 8 farsakhs to Aruskan, thence 7 to Asrāb, thence 6 to Ganjabad, thence 8 to Tashkān, thence 5 to Kashhān, thence 8 to Arghūn in the district of Jūr-ān, thence 8 to Kagr Hūt; thence 3 to Fāryāb, thence 9 to Kā', thence 9 to Shaburkān, thence 8 to Sudrah, thence 8 to Dastagird, thence 4 to 'Awd, and thence it is 8 farsakhs to Balkh.

The first of these two routes is given, in part, in the *Jahān Nāmā* (p. 329), and between them they fix within narrow limits the positions of Takān and Fāryāb, two

important towns of the Jūzjan District, the names of which have apparently entirely disappeared from the map. Their probable sites have been discussed in Chapter 17.

Route XIII.—Bustām to Farāvah (L. 197j).—From Bustām by the pass called Narābān-Pāyah it is 7 farsakhs to Dih Ganj, thence 6 to the village of Mīlābūd, thence 6 to Mūsā-Abūd village, thence 6 to the city of Jurjān. From Jurjān there are two roads to the northern frontier—one direct by the waterless desert, the other by Dīkustān. By this last from Jurjān it is 9 farsakhs to Bistān thence 7 to the village of MahāwmaʿAbūd, thence 7 to Dīkustān; from here it is 7 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Kuraʾ (or Gazbīn), thence 9 to Rubāṭ Abu-l-ʿAbbās, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Ibn Tāhar, and thence 7 farsakhs to the city of Farāvah.

The MSS. give many variants both in this and the next route for the intermediate stages, which in the desert were mostly Rubūṭs or Guardhouses. For the part north of Jurjān city Sir H. O. Rawlinson may be consulted in the *Proceedings of the Roy Geog Soc.*, 1870 (i, 170), and for Bistān, which the MSS. gave variously as Buraz, Sāʾar, Sār-rūd, and Sard-rūd, he adopts the reading S.āṣbar-rūd, "a name restored to agree with the modern Sambar" Farāvah, a place frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, is probably to be identified with the modern Kızıl Arvāt, this last being a corruption for Kızıl-Rubūṭ, 'the Red Guardhouse.'

Route XIV.—Farāvah to Urganj (L. 197k).—From the city of Farāvah it is 8 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Khasht-Pak-stah, thence 8 to Khūshāb, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Tashmāj, thence 7 to Kurvān-gāh, thence 9 to Rubāṭ Sarhang, thence 7 to Mānrah-gāh, thence 9 to Sall-Ball, thence 7 to Mashk Mubān, thence 9 to Rubāṭ Maryam, thence 8 to the town of New Khwārizm, thence 6 to New Hulan (or Khaulm), and thence 4 farsakhs to Urganj, the capital of Khwārizm.

The stages of this desert road to Urganj, the city which the Arabs knew as Jurjāniyān, are given with a variety of readings in the MSS. The variants, however, are of no

great importance, since the stages merely represent halting-places, not towns or villages. Khwārizm-i-Naw — New Khwārizm—must be the capital of the province built to replace the town destroyed by the Mongols, and the ruins of *New* Khwārizm are now known as *Old* Urganj—Kuhnah Urganj; but what the place which Mastawī calls Ḥalam or Khulm-i-Naw may represent—lying between the newer and the old capital of his time—it is difficult to determine. For Khwārizm in general see the concluding paragraphs of Chapter 17; also below, Route XIX.

Route XV.—Nishāpūr to Herāt (L. 197r).—Nishāpūr is 7 farsakhs to Dīh-Bād, where the road to Sarakhs already given (Route XI) goes off to the left, thence 7 to Rubāt Baqrī, thence 7 to Farhādān village, thence 7 to Saʿdābād village, thence 8 to Dīh Khawrā, thence 7 to the city of Būjkān (or Būzjān), thence 8 to Gulābād, thence 10 to Kūshk Maṣṣūr, thence 8 to the city of Fūshanj (or Būshanj), and thence 8 farsakhs to Herāt.

Dīh-Bād—‘the windy village’—is the place named in the Arab itineraries *Kasr-ar-Rīb*, which has a similar signification; it is now called Dizban-Pūyin. As noticed in Chapter 17, the city of Būjkān, or Buzjan, also written in two words *Pūca-Kūn*, is by the Arab geographers called *Zūm* or *Jam*, and is now known as Turbat-i-Shaykh Jām, from the tomb of the Saint buried here. Fūshanj, or Būshanj (see also Chapter 17) is the modern Gaūriyān, but when the town took this last name appears to be unknown.

Route XVI.—Nishāpūr to Turshiz (L. 197s).—From Nishāpūr going through a populous, well-watered country where are 80 villages, it is 5 farsakhs to Rubāt Siḥ Dīh (Guardhouse of the Three Villages), thence 4 farsakhs to Rubāt Nūr-Khān, thence 3 to Chāh Siyāh (Black Pit), thence 5 to the village of Dāyah, thence 4 to Dīh Murd, and thence 7 farsakhs to Turshiz. From Turshiz it is 25 farsakhs to Tūn, and 36 to Kāyin, and likewise 36 to Būjkān.

Of the route here given none of the villages appear now to exist; their names are not found in the Arab itineraries;

village of Mālish (Bālish, or Tālish), thence 6 to the city of Arīdabīl, thence 8 to Kūbāt Arashad, thence 8 to the village of Varank, to the east of which, one farsakh distant, lies Barzand, formerly a city, now a mere village, and thence 4 farsakhs to Bājarvān, formerly a city, now only a village.

This route, which is found in the *Jihān Nūmā* (p. 380), gives the position of Kūghadh Kunūn or Khūnāj, already mentioned in Chapter 2, which was a mint city. The name of the pass near the Safid-rūd is doubtful; it is variously given in the MSS. as Gurīvāh-i-Pardabīla, Bazurgtar, or Barūlah, and the Sanjīdah is also a river mentioned among the affluents flowing into the Safid-rūd. North of Arīdabīl the ruins of Barzand exist, and this fixes the position of Bājarvān; for Arashad some MSS. give Arand; and for Varank the variants are Varluk, Dazrik, Darluk, with other readings.

Many of the places on this route, with those to be mentioned in Route XXI, have been already referred to in the notes to Chapter 4 on Mūghān.

Route XXI.—Bājarvān to Mahmūdābād (L. 198a).—Bājarvān in 8 farsakhs to Pīlavar, thence 6 to Jāy-i-naw (New Canal), and thence 6 to Mahmūdābād Qaybārī.

Route XXII.—Bājarvān to Tiflis (L. 198a).—Bājarvān in 7 farsakhs to the village of 'Alī Beg, thence 6 to the village of Bakrābād, thence 2 to the bank of the river Aras, which is the frontier of Karābagh, thence 3 to the village of Har, thence 5 to Ghark, thence 4 to the village of Labandān, thence 3 to Bāzarchūk, thence 4 to the city of Bardū', thence 1 to the city of Jāzūfī, thence 4 to Dīh Isfahānī, thence 5 to Khānkūh Sūtūr, thence 5 to Ganjah city, thence 2 to the city of Shamkūr, now in ruins, thence 3 to Yūrt-Slādūkh-Bān, thence 6 to the Aklarān river, thence 5 to Yām, and thence 4 farsakhs to the city of Tiflis.

On this road to Tiflis, Bardū' and Ganjah exist, also Shamkūr, but for the intermediate stages the MSS. give a variety of readings. Ghark is given as Fark, Kūrā', Kīrk, or Turak. Labandān appears as Dīh Shuterān, or Katrān;

and the next stage may be read Darhuk. For Jūsbik we get Jūsīnak, Khurank, or Hūrish; and the name Shādāḡ is given as Sadmiyan or Sarīḡiyan, finally, Yām may be read Bām or Mādam.

Route XXXI.—Bājarrān to Tabriz (L. 1993). Bājarrān is 4 farsakhs to Barzand (as aforesaid), thence 6 to Rubāt-i-Ayvān built by the Vazīr Khwājah Tāj ad-Dīn 'Alī Shāh Tabrizī, thence 8 to the village of Bānātān (Baylakān, Dīh Sulṭān, or Sanakūn) known as the village of the Sāhib Divān, thence in 6 farsakhs passing the Ruḡṭ (Guardhouse) built by the Vazīr 'Alī Shāh aforesaid standing in the valley called Darrah Farūj, to the city of Ahar, thence in 6 farsakhs by the Pass of Gūchah Nīl (the Blue Lake), in which stand two Guardhouses—one the Ruḡṭ built by Khwājah Sa'd ad-Dīn, the other by Amīr Nizām ad-Dīn Yahyā of Bārah to the village of Arminān (or Arminyān), thence passing another Ruḡṭ built by the Vazīr 'Alī Shāh aforesaid at the stage of Yalūḡ (or Baḡḡ) it is 6 farsakhs to Tabriz.

The name of the valley called Farūjāy is in some MSS. given as Kirdjy or Karūjūy; Gūchah Nīl appears as Kūkjy or Kaviyah Nīl, while Arminān or Arminyān has the variants Aramniyān or Larzan. Apparently none of these places are marked on our maps, but this route is copied into the *Jihān Namā* (p. 389), and in Appendix III, already quoted in the remarks on Chapter 3, Mustawfī (L. 217y) mentions many of these places when describing the course of the Ahar river.

The next four Routes, giving the Itineraries from Sulṭāniyah westward to Sivas, and from Būmghān (already mentioned in Route vi) southward to Isfahān to Shīrās, need no comment, for the places mentioned will for the most part be found on the map, and have already been dealt with in Chapters 2, 3, 7, and 12.

Route XXIV.—Sulṭāniyah to Tabriz (L. 1994).—Sulṭāniyah is 5 farsakhs to Zanjān, thence 6 to Rubāt Nakhāy built by the Vazīr Khwājah Qhiyāsh ad-Dīn Amīr Muḥammad Rashidī, and another Rubāt has been built here by his brother Khwājah

Jalāl-ad-Dīn, thence in 7 farsakhs to Sarcham, thence by a pass in 6 farsakhs to M'yanj, thence 8 to the village of Turkman Kamāl called Duyr Kharrān, which formerly was a city, thence 4 to the village of Shamsā-āh, thence 4 to the city of Awjān, thence 4 by a pass to Sa'īd-āh (or Sa'udāh), and thence in 4 farsakhs to the city of Tabriz.

Route XXV—Tabriz to Bīrān (L. 199a)—Tabriz 11 farsakhs to Marand, thence 12 to Khuzī (K'hoi), thence 6 to Hākīr-āh, thence 6 to Suhr-i-Naw, thence 3 to Band-Māhī, thence 8 to Arjsh, thence 8 to Mulā-āh, thence 10 to Khandā, thence 6 to the Pass of Ak Aftūn, thence 5 to Basīn, thence 8 to Arzan-ar-Rūm, thence 10 to Arjan of the district of Vazīrjān, thence 10 to Khundā Kabūh at the foot of the pass, thence 4 to Arzanjān, thence 6 to the village of Khwājah Ahmad, thence 7 to Arzanjak, thence 8 to Ak Shahr, thence 5 to Akarsak, thence 8 to Zārah, thence 10 to Kubāt Khwājah Ahmad, and thence it is 4 farsakhs to Bīrān.

Route XXVI—Sūmghān called Ak-Khwājah to Isfahān (L. 199a)—From Sūmghān it is 6 farsakhs to Saghābād, this last being 24 farsakhs or 8 stages distant from Sūfānīyah (see Route VIII)—and from Saghābād it is 6 farsakhs to Rubāt Hājb, thence 7 to Rubāt Dawānīk, thence 5 to the city of Sāvah, thence 4 to Ārah, thence 6 to Kum, thence 12 to Kāshān, thence 8 to the village of Kūhrūd, thence 8 to the village of Wāstah, thence it is 6 farsakhs to the Rubāt Murchah Khūrd, and 6 on to the village of Sīn—or else from Wāstah it is 12 farsakhs direct to Sīn by the Mīyānī Road, but on this way are no habitations—and from the village of Sīn it is 4 farsakhs to Isfahān.

Route XXVII—Isfahān to Shīrās (L. 200a)—Isfahān in 3 farsakhs to the village of Isfahānak, thence 6 to the village of Mihyār on the frontier of Fārs, thence 6 to Karmahah, thence 5 to the village of Rūdkān, thence 7 to Yazukhwāst, from here the winter road down to Band-i-'Aqdī turns off to the left, while the shorter, western, or, summer road is to the right, by Kūshk-i-Zard, namely, from Yazukhwāst in 6 farsakhs to Dīr Girdā thence 7 to Kūshk-i-Zard aforesaid, thence 8 by the Gūlrah-i-Mā-ar wa Dukhtar (Mother and Daughter Pass) to the Rubāt of Shīrās ad-Dīn in the plain called Dušt Rūn, thence 3 to the Guardhouse at

the Bridge called Pāi-i Shahr-yār, thence 7 farsakhs through the very stony Pass of Māyān to the town of Māyān thence in 4 farsakhs—passing by the Castles of Isfākār and Shikastah which overlook the road on the left hand—to Pāi-i Naw (New Bridge), thence 5 to Dīh (vurg (Wolf village), and thence in 5 farsakhs to the city of S. nāz.

Route XXVIII—Shīrāz to the Island of Kays and by sea to India (L. 206f).—Shīrāz 5 farsakhs to Shahrak village, thence 5 to the city of Kavar thence by the Qirvān-i Zuh, i.e. Pass of Chahak, leaving Ft. Qazak 7 farsakhs distant away to the right hand, in 5 farsakhs to Rahat Chamanak, thence 5 to Maymanah, thence 5 to the beginning of the S. mkan District, thence 5 to the end of this District, thence in 7 farsakhs to Kārsin by the Pass of Sang-i Safid (the White Stone) which is one farsakh short of Kārsin, thence it is 5 farsakhs to Lāghar, thence 5 to the Fārsūb District, thence 5 to the city of Saj thence 5 to Āb-Anhār-i Kīnār, thence 5 to Haram, thence in 6 farsakhs by many steep passes to the village of Dārūk, thence 5 to Mubān thence in 6 farsakhs by the Pass of Lardak to Huzū on the sea-shore. From here you cross the water in 4 leagues to the city of Kays (on the island of that name). From this island it is 18 farsakhs to the Island of Abarsāfār thence 7 to the Island of Urmūd, thence in 70 leagues you come to the Island of Bār on the frontier of S. dī, and thence it is 80 to Darbal, which lies 2 leagues from the mouth of the Mīr-rān (Indus), which is the great river of Sind.

From Shīrāz to Kārsin and Lāghar this road may be followed on the map, and the 'Pass of Chains' north of Firūzabad is still so named; but south of this, to Huzū on the coast (given by the Arab geographers as the port for Kays Island and city) the route is found in no other authority, and has not, I believe, been followed by any traveller in modern times. Variants are numerous in the MS. The name of the city called Saj may be Sāh, Hāj, or Qāh, with many other combinations of the dissociated points as Khabakh and Hunaj, etc. Haram appears as Īrām or Harmas. Dārūk may be Darzak, Ūrak, or Davrak, finally, Mubān is given as Hamañ or Mūyān. From Kays

Island the sea road to India is that in continuation of Route IV already given, and in regard to the names of the islands in the Persian Gulf these have all been discussed in Chapter 12.

Route XXX.—Shīrāz to Kāsurūn (L. 200s).—Shīrāz is 5 farsakhs to the Wall of Hājjī Kawwām, thence 8 to Dasht Arzin, thence 8 to the Rubāṭ (Guardhouse) at the head of the Mālān Pass, which is very steep, thence by the Hūshang Pass, also very steep, in 3 farsakhs to Kāsurūn.

The two passes named before Kāsurūn are those now known as the Kūtal-i-Pir-i-Zan and the Kūtal-i-Dukhtar—the Passes of the Old Woman and of the Maiden: for the other places see Chapter 12.

Route XXXI.—Shīrāz to Hurmūz (L. 200s).—Shīrāz is 12 farsakhs to Sarvīstān, thence 8 to the city of Fash, thence 8 to Timaristān village, thence 8 to Dārkhān (or Zārkhān), from which, turning to the left in 4 farsakhs, you reach the city of Ig, the capital of Shabānkārah. To the right from Dārkhān it is 10 farsakhs to Dārābgird, thence 8 to the village of Khayr, thence 8 to Shabānkān, thence 8 to Rustāk, and thence 8 farsakhs to Burk (Forg), from here it is 6 farsakhs to Tūshkū, thence 8 to Tārum, thence to the frontier of the Lār Province at Janād (or Chānār) it is 4 farsakhs, thence 8 to Chāh Chīl, thence 8 to Tūsar on the sea-coast, whence by water it is 4 leagues to the Island of Hurmūz.

The places along the route have been for the most part noticed in Chapters 12 and 13. Tūshkū beyond Forg is mentioned by Dupré (*Voyages en Perse*, ii, 489); the MSS. give Tashlū, Dashlū, Shālū, with many other readings; but Tūshkū is doubtless the true version. Tūsar, the port on the Persian Gulf, whence the crossing is made to Hurmūz Island, is given as Dūsar, Lawhar, and Lavlīr in the various MSS. It must occupy, more or less, the position of the harbour named Shahrū by Isṭakhṛī (p. 170) and Sūrā or bāru by Ibn Hawkal (p. 226), being identical with the later Gombroon, which is written Gumarū by Hūjjī Kāshgharī (*Jihān Nūmā*, p. 260); and this last is generally held to have been

a corruption of *Gamruk*, the Turkish name for 'Custom-house' (from the Greek *κομμηναί*), which came into common use all over the East.

Route XXXI.—Shīrāz to Kirmān (L. 201f).—Shīrāz in 8 farsakhs to Dāryān, thence 8 to Kuarranah, thence 4 to Khūanjān, thence 6 to Kand (or Kid), thence 6 to Klayrah, thence 8 to Chāh 'Uqbah, thence 8 to Bulangān, thence 8 to Chāhik, thence 8 to Chāhik City, thence 8 to Sarūshak, thence 8 to Shahr-i-Bābūk, thence 8 to Kūshik Nu'mān, thence 4 to Abān, thence 10 to the city of Sirjān, from which it is 20 farsakhs to Kirmān (city).

This is the road by the southern side of Bakhtugūn Lake to the towns of Little and Great Sūhik (or Chāhik) given by the Arab itineraries. The present ruins at Dih Chūh and Chāh Khushik probably represent these places. Great Sūhik was a city of some importance in the middle ages, where the road from Persepolis to Kirmān—along the northern shore of Lake Bakhtugūn by Abūdah City—joined the route here given coming from Shīrāz. For the reading Shahr Chāhik (Great Sūhik of the Arabs) nearly all of the MSS. give Shahr Aīzibeg, which possibly may have been the name of this place in the fourteenth century, though apparently not so given by any other authority.

The next route needs no commentary; it follows the nomenclature of the Arab geographers, and most of the places named will be found on the map, and have been noticed in Chapter 12.

Route XXXII.—Shīrāz to Yazd (L. 201k).—Shīrāz in 8 farsakhs to the village of Zargān, thence 8 to the dam called Band-i-Amir on the Kur river, thence 8 to the village of Kūnārah in the districts of Hafrah and Marv Dasht, thence 8 to Fārūq, thence 8 to Karmīn, thence 4 to Mashhad-i-Mākar-i-Sulaymān—'Shrine of the Mother of Solomon,' namely, the Tomb of Cyrus—thence 8 to Rabāṭ Masūk, thence 12 to the city of Abarkuh, thence 13 to Dih Shīr (Laon village), thence 6 to Dih Jawz (Nūt village), thence 4 to Kal'at-i-Majūs (Magian's Castle), thence in 5 farsakhs to the city of Kathak or Yazd, standing in its Jūmah (District, otherwise Hūmah,

Route XXXIII—Shirāz to Arrajān and Bustānak (L. 201p).—

Shirāz in 5 farsakhs to Juvaym, thence 5 to Khālār, thence 5 to Kharrārah, thence 4 to Kuvār, which is of the district of Tīr Murdān, thence 3 to Karkān, thence 3 to Nawbanjān, thence 4 to Khābadān, thence 5 to Kishish, thence 5 to Gumbadh Mallaghān, thence 4 to Chawhab, thence 4 to Jish, thence 5 to Farsuk, thence 4 to Arrajān, and 4 farsakhs on to Bustānak, which is the frontier of Fāre and Khuzistān.

These stages for the most part are given, in the Arab itineraries, and in the reverse order this is the route followed by Timur when on his march from Shustar to Kal'ah Safid and Shirāz, as given in the *Zafar Nāmah* (i, 600). Juvaym (marked Goyun on the map) and Khullār exist, also the ruins of Nawbanjān or Nawbandajān, which last name the MSS. more often give as Bīhanjān or Lahjan, and in a variety of other mistaken readings. This Nawbanjān, a celebrated city throughout the middle ages, lies some twenty-five miles due north of the ruins of Slāpur, and was close to the famous valley of Sha'b Bavān. Our maps now show another Nawbanjan, a village about twenty-five miles distant due west of Shāpūr; this place is not mentioned by the medieval geographers, and the city of Nawbanjān or Nawbandajān must not be confounded with this modern village. Khābādān, or Khwāndan, was on the river of that name already mentioned in Chapter 12, and Gumbadh Mallaghān is doubtless the modern Du Gumbadān (Two Domes), near which are some extensive ruins. The remaining stages to Arrajān are difficult to identify, and the MSS. give a variety of readings. Kishish appears as Kish or Malish, Chawhab as Safah or Sa'ighab, Jarsak as Khawrak or Marsak, but the same uncertainty is found in the corresponding Arab itineraries of Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddasi, and as none of these names are now found on the map it is impossible to get to any certainty in the matter.

In conclusion, I have two corrections of some importance to add, which have come to hand since the earlier portions of this paper were published. In the April number (p. 249) it

is stated that "the Urmīyah Lake appears to have been known to Hamd-Allah under the name of Khanjašt," and it is added that the spelling of this name is uncertain. Professor P. Horn, of Strassburg, has since written to me that the true reading is *Chichast* (differing from Khanjašt only by a variation of the diacritical points), this being a modification of the name given to the Urmīyah Lake in the Avesta where the ancient spelling is *Chachasta*. Hence in the *Shāh Nāmāh* (Turner-Macan, p. 1860, l. 4, and p. 1927, l. 6 from below) *Chichast* should be read for 'Khanjašt.'

The second correction is for the July number (p. 530), in the matter of the true site of Sīrjān, the earlier of the two capitals of the Kirmān province. In his recent work *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, which is reviewed on another page, Major P. Molesworth Sykes describes (p. 431) the ruins of a fortress and town called Kāl'ah-i-Sang, covering a hill-top, which is some 5 miles to the eastward of Sa'idubad on the road to Būft. These ruins are also known as Kāl'ah-i-Bayzā, 'the White Castle,' and appear beyond reasonable doubt to be those of Sīrjān, the fortress of which was destroyed by the orders of Timūr (see J R A.S., April, 1901, p. 284). The position of Kāl'ah-i-Sang is, it is true, rather more to the westward and further from Kirmān city than the distances given in the Arab geographers would seem to warrant, but this is probably explicable by the very varying estimate given to the *Marḥalah*, or Day's March, on which we have to rely when, unfortunately, the stages in farsakhs are not given.



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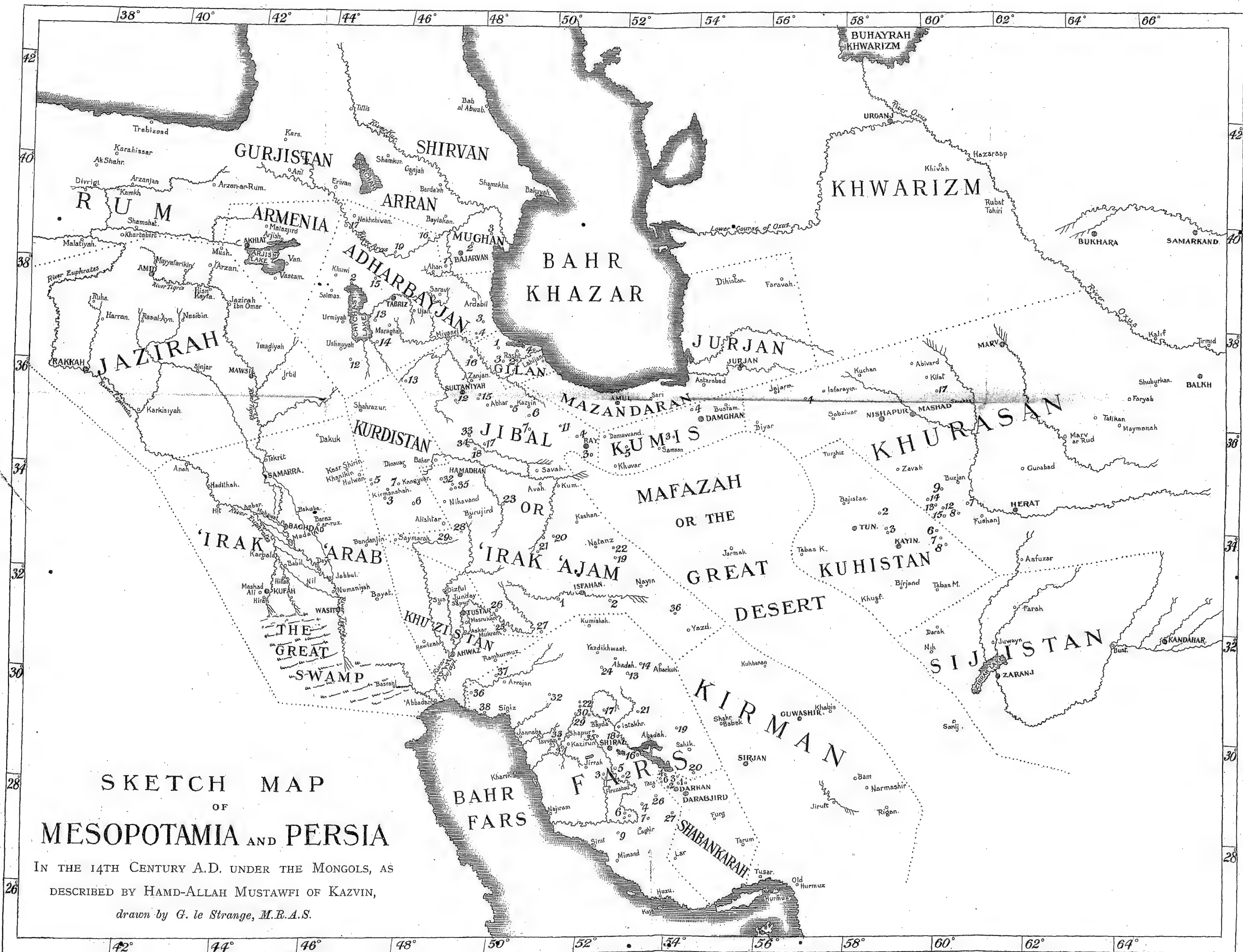
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